### THE LIVES

OF

# THE TWELVE CÆSARS.

BY

### C SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS,

TO WHICH ALR ADDED.

HIS LIVES OF THE GRAMMARIANS RHETORICIANS, AND POETS

THE TRAFFLATION

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EXTURE AND COLUMN \*

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### KOMMON

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#### PREFACE

C Supromius Transcribus was the son of a Roman knight who commanded a legion, on the side of Other at the battle which decided the fate of the empire in favour of Vitellius. From incidental notices in the following History, we learn that he was born towards the close of the reign of Vespanan who died in the year 79 of the Christian era. He have till the time of Hadrian, under whose administration he filled the office of sceretary until, with several others, he was dismissed for presuming on familianties with the empress Sahins, of which we have no further account than that they were unbecoming his position in the imperial court. How long he survived this disgrace, which appears to have befallen him in the year 121 we are not informed but we find that the leisure afforded him by his retirement, was employed in the composition of numerous works, of which the only portions now extant are collected in the present volume.

Several of the younger Pluy's letters are addressed to Sustomius, with whom he hard in the closest friendship. They afford some brief but generally pleasant, glumpes of his habits and correr and in a letter in which Pluy makes application on behalf of his friend to the emperor Trujan for a mark of favour he speaks of him as 'a most excellent, benourable, and loarned man whom he had the pleasure of entertaining under his own roof and with whom the VI PREFACE

nearer he was brought into communion, the more he love! him."

The plan adopted by Suctonius in his Lives of the Twelve Cæsars, led him to be more diffuse on their personal conduct and habits than on public events. He writes Memoirs rather than History. He neither dwells on the civil wars which sealed the fall of the Republic, nor on the military expeditions which extended the frontiers of the empire, nor does he at tempt to develope the causes of the great political changes which marked the period of which he treats

When we stop to gaze in a museum or gallery on the antique busts of the Cæsars, we perhaps endeavour to trace in their sculptured physiognomy the characteristics of those princes, who, for good or evil, were in their times masters of the destines of a large portion of the human race. The pages of Suctonius will amply gratify this natural curiosity. In them we find a series of individual portraits sketched to the life, with perfect truth and rigorous impartiality. La Harpe remarks of Suctonius, "He is scrupulously exact, and strictly methodical. He omits nothing which concerns the person whose life he is writing, he islates everything, but paints nothing. His work is, in some sense, a collection of anecdotes, but it is very curious to read and consult"

Combining as it does amusement and information, Suetonius's "Lives of the Cæsars" was held in such estimation, that, so soon after the invention of printing as the year 1500, no fewer than eighteen editions had been published, and nearly one hundred have since been added to the number — Critics of the highest rank have devoted themselves to the task of correcting and

Plin Epist 1. 18, 24, m 8, v. 11, ix 34, v 95
 Lycée, part I hy III c. 1

rii

commenting on the text, and the work has been translated into most European languages. Of the English translations, that of Dr Alexander Thomson, published in 1796 has been made the bears of the present. He informs us in his Preface that a version of fluctonius was with him only a secondary object, his principal design being to form a just estimate of Roman Internature, and to clucidate the state of government, and the manners of the times for which the work of Suctonius seemed a fitting vehicle. Dr Thomson's remarks appended to each successive rough, are reprinted nearly verbatim in the present edition. His translation however was very diffuse, and retained most of the inaccuracies of that of Clarko, on which it was founded considerable care therefore has been bestowed in correcting it, with the view of producing as far as possible, a literal and faithful version. To render the works of Sustanius as far as they are extant.

To render the works of Suotonius, as far as they are extant, complete, his Lives of eminent Grammarians, Rhetoricians, and Poets of which a translation has not before appeared in English are added. These Lives abound with ancodote and currous information connected with learning and literary men during the period of which the author treats.

T F

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#### TWELVE CÆSARS

#### CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

Julio Czale, the Divine, lost his father when he was in the axteenth year of his age; and the year following being nominated to the office of high priest of Jupiter he repu dinted Cosmils, who was very wealthy although her family belonged only to the equestrian order and to whom he had been contracted when he was a mere boy He then mar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Julius Caser Divar Roundba, the founder of Rome, had the honour of an apothecute conferred on this by the sensit, noder the title of Qutriana, to obvrate the people a suspicion of his having been takes off by a comparinery of the patrician order. Pollitcal circumstances again concurred with popular superstitions to revive this posthermous adalation in favour of Julius Cessur the founder of the empire, who also fell by the hasaks of compirators. It is recurrable in the history of a nation so jealous of public liberty that, in both instances they bestowed the highest mark of human homoge upon men who owed their fate to the introduction of rebittray power.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny informs us that Calus Julius, the father of Julius Casar a man

of pretorian rank, died suddenly at Pha.

<sup>5</sup> A.u.o. (in the year from the foundation of Rome) 670 A.c. (before Christ) about 92.

Firmes Biefs. This was an office of great dignity but subjected the holder to many restrictions. He was not allowed to rick on horselance, nor to absent himself from the city for a single night. His wife was also under particular restraints, and could not be divorced. If the died, the famous resigned his office, because there were certain sarrest rites which be could not perform without her assistance. Buckles other maris of dirtidection, he were a purple robe called losse, and a conical active called spece.

ried Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, who was four times consul, and had by her, shortly afterwards, a daughter named Julia Resisting all the efforts of the dictator Sylla to induce him to divorce Cornelia, he suffered the penalty of being stripped of his sacerdotal office, his wife's dowry, and his own patrimonial estates, and, being identified with the adverse faction, was compelled to withdraw from Rome After changing his place of concealment nearly every night, although he was suffering from a quartan ague, and having effected his release by bribing the officers who had tracked his footsteps, he at length obtained a pardon through the intercession of the vestal virgins, and of Mamercus Æmilius and Aurelius Cotta, his near relatives. We are assured that when Sylla, having withstood for a while the entreaties of his own best friends, persons of distinguished rank, at last yielded to their importunity, he exclaimed—either by a divine impulse, or from a shrewd conjecture "Your suit is granted, and you may take him among you, but know," he added, "that this man, for whose safety you are so extremely anxious, will, some day or other, be the ruin of the party of the nobles, in defence of which you are leagued with me, for in this one Cæsai, you will find many a Marius"

IT His first campaign was served in Asia, on the staff of the prætor, M Thermus, and being dispatched into Bithynia, to bring thence a fleet, he loitered so long at the court of Nicomedes, as to give occasion to reports of a criminal intercourse between him and that prince, which received additional credit from his hasty return to Bithynia, under the pretext of recovering a debt due to a freed-man, his client. The rest of his service was more favourable to his reputation; and

<sup>1</sup> Two powerful parties were contending at Rome for the supremacy, Sylla being at the head of the faction of the nobles, while Marius espoused the cause of the people Sylla suspected Julius Cæsar of belonging to the Marian party, because Marius had married his aunt Julia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> He wandered about for some time in the Sabine territory

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bithyma, in Asia Minor, was bounded on the south by Phrygia on the west by the Bosphorus and Propontis, and on the north by the Euxine sea. Its boundaries towards the east are not clearly ascertained, Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy differing from each other on the subject.

when Mitylene<sup>1</sup> was taken by storm, he was presented by Thurmus with the cavic crown.<sup>3</sup>

III. He served also in Glicia, under Servilius Insurious, but only for a short time as upon recoving intelligence of Syllas death, he returned with all speed to Rome, in expect ation of what might follow from a fresh agitation set on foot by Marcus Lepadus. Distructing, however the shiftless of this leader and finding the times less favouriable for the execution of this project than he had at first imagined, he abandoned all thoughts of joining Lepadus, although he recurved the most templing offers.

IV Soon after this cirl discord was composed, he preferred a charge of extertion equinst Cornelius Polabella, a man of consular dignity who had obtained the honour of a triumph. On the sequitial of the second, he resolved to retire to Rhodes, "with the view not only of avoiding the public odium

<sup>1</sup> Mitylane was a dry in the lahand of Leebon, funcous for the study of philosophy and eloquence. According to Play it remained a free eity and in power one thousand for hundred years. It suffered much in the Peloponnesian was from the Athenkans, and in the Mithridatic from the Romans, by whom it was taken and destroyed. But it soom rose again, having recovered its ancient ilberty by the favour of Pumpey; and was afterwards much encellished by Trijan, who added to it the apleadour of his own same. This was the country of Pittsens, one of the seven wise men of Groces, as well as of Alcons and Suppho. The sairies showed a particular tasts for poetry and had, as Pl tarch informs us, stated times for the celebration of poetical contests.

The civic crows was made of oak leaves, and given to him who had saved the life of a citizen. The person thus decorated, were it at public speciaeles, and sat next the senators. When he entered, the audience rose up, as a mark of respect.

2 A very estimate country of Hither Aria Iring between Pamphylia to the west, Mount Taurus and Amanus to the north, Syria to the east, and the Mediterrament to the south. If was noticeally known for aring half-cloth, called by the Homans edificient, was the manufacture of the country of

this country

4 A city and an laised, near the count of Carts, funcous for the bage status of the Sen, called the Colosses. The Rhodman were cultimated not only for skill in naval affairs, but for learning, philosophy and eloquosco. Daring the latter periods of the Roman republik, and under some of the comperors, numbers reserved there to prosecute their studies; and it also became a place of retreat to discontanted Roman.

which he had incurred, but of prosecuting his studies with lessure and tranquillity, under Apollonius, the son of Molon, at that time the most eelebrated master of rhetorie While on his voyage thither, in the winter season, he was taken by pirates near the island of Pharmacusa, and detained by them, burning with indignation, for nearly forty days, his only attendants being a physician and two chamberlains For he had instantly dispatched his other servants and the friends who accompanied him, to raise money for his ransom.2 Fifty talents having been paid down, he was landed on the coast, when, having collected some ships,3 he lost no time in putting to sea in pursuit of the pirates, and having captured them, inflieted upon them the punishment with which he had often threatened them in jest At that time Mithridates was ravaging the neighbouring districts, and on Cosar's arrival at Rhodes, that he might not appear to he idle while danger threatened the allies of Rome, he passed over into Asia, and having collected some auxiliary forces, and driven the king's governor out of the province, retained in their allegiance the cities which were wavering, and ready to revolt

V Having been elected military tribune, the first honour he received from the suffrages of the people after his return to Rome, he zealously assisted those who took measures for restoring the tribunitian authority, which had been greatly diminished during the usurpation of Sylla. He likewise, by an act, which Plotius at his suggestion propounded to the people, obtained the recal of Lucius Cinna, his wife's brother, and others with him, who having been the adherents of Lepidus in the civil disturbances, had after that consul's death fled to Sertorius, 4 which law he supported by a speech

VI During his quæstorship he pronounced funeral orations from the rostra, according to custom, in praise of his aunt

Pharmacusa, an island lying off the coast of Asia, near Miletus It is now called Parmosa

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The ransom, too large for Cæsar's private means, was raised by the voluntary contributions of the cities in the Asiatic province, who were equally liberal from their public funds in the case of other Romans who fell into the hands of pirates at that period.

From Miletus, as we are informed by Plutarch.

<sup>4</sup> Who commanded in Spain

Julia, and his wife Cornella. In the panegyric on his aunt, he gives the following account of her own and his father's genealogy on both sides My aunt Julia derived her descent, by the mother from a race of kings, and by her father from the Immortal Gods. For the Marun Reges,1 her mother's family deduce their podigree from Ancus Marcius, and the Julii, her father s, from Venus of which stock we are a branch. We therefore unite in our descent the sacred majesty of kings, the chiefest among men, and the divine majesty of Gods, to whom kings themselves are subject. To supply the place of Cornelia, he married Pompeia, the daughter of Quintus Pompeius, and grand-daughter of Lucius Sylla but he after wards divorced her upon suspection of her having been debauched by Publius Clodius. For so current was the report, that Clodius had found access to her discussed as a woman during the celebration of a religious solemnity that the senate instituted an enquiry respecting the profanation of the sacred rates.

VII. Further Spain' fell to his lot as questor when there, as the was going the circuit of the province, by commission from the prestor for the administration of justice, and had reached Gadea, soung a statue of Alexander the Greet in the temple of Haroules, he aghed deeply as if weary of his alugnah life, for having performed no memorable actions at an age' at which Alex ander had already conquered the world. He, therefore immediately sued for his discharge, with the view of embracing the first opportunity which might present itself in The Oily of entering upon a more cralled coreer. In the stillness of the night following, he droamt that he lay with his own mother hat his confusion was relieved, and his hopes were raused to the highest pitch, by the interpreture of his dream who expounded it as an onem that he should possess universal empire for

<sup>1</sup> Rew it will be easily understood, was not a title of dignity in a Rozean family but the surpame of the Marcii.
3 The rice of the Bona Dos, called also Fauna, which were performed.

in the right, and by women only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hispania Bortion; the Hither province belog called Hispania Tarra-consists.

Alexander the Great was only thirty-three years at the time of his death.

that the mother who in his sleep he had found submissive to his embraces, was no other than the earth, the common parent of all mankind

VIII Quitting therefore the province before the expiration of the usual term, he betook himself to the Latin colonies, which were then eagerly agitating the design of obtaining the freedom of Rome, and he would have stirred them up to some bold attempt, had not the consuls, to prevent any commotion, detained for some time the legions which had been raised for service in Cilicia—But this did not deter him from making, soon afterwards, a still greater effort within the precincts of the city itself

IX For, only a few days before he entered upon the edileship, he incurred a suspicion of having engaged in a conspiracy with Marcus Crassus, a man of consular rank, to whom were joined Publius Sylla and Lucius Autronius, who, after they had been chosen consuls, were convicted of bribery The plan of the conspirators was to fall upon the senate at the opening of the new year, and murder as many of them as should be thought necessary, upon which, Crassus was to assume the office of dictator, and appoint Cæsar his master of the horse When the commonwealth had been thus ordered according to their pleasure, the consulship was to have been restored to Sylla and Autonius Mention is made of this plot by Tanusius Geminus in his history, by Marcus Bibulus in his edicts, and by Curio, the father, in his orations Cicero likewise seems to hint at this in a letter to Axius, where he says, that Cæsar

<sup>2</sup> Seneca compares the annals of Tanusius to the life of a fool, which, though it may be long, is worthless, while that of a wise man, like a

good book, is valuable, however short -Epist 94

AUC 689 Cicero holds both the Curio's, father and son, very

cheap -Brut c. 60

¹ The proper office of the master of the horse was to command the knights, and execute the orders of the dictator. He was usually nominated from amongst persons of consular and prætorian dignity, and had the use of a horse, which the dictator had not, without the order of the people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bibulus was Cæsar's colleague, both as edile and consul Cicero calls his edicts "Archilochian," that is, as full of spite as the verses of Archilochus —Ad Attic b 7 ep 24

had in his consulabile secured to himself that arbitrary power to which he had espired when he was edile. Tanusius adds, that Crassus, from remorse or feer did not appear upon the day appointed for the massacre of the senate for which reason Ocean omitted to give the signal, which, according to the plan concerted between them he was to have made. The agreement. Curio says, was that he should shake off the toga from his shoulder We have the authority of the same Curio and of M. Actorius Naso for his having been likewise concerned in another conspiracy with young Chemis Piso to whom, upon a suspiction of some mischief being meditated in the city the province of Spain was decreed out of the regular course. It is said to have been arreed between them, that Piec should head a revolt in the provinces, whilst the other should at tempt to star up an insurrection at Rome, using as their in struments the Lambrani, and the tribes beyond the Po But the execution of this design was frustrated in both quarters by the death of Pico

X. In his edileship, he not only embellished the Comitium and the rest of the Forum, with the edjoining halls, but adorned the Capitol also with temporary piasans, constructed for the purpose of displaying some part of the superabundant collec-

Regimen, the kingly power which the Roman people considered an insupportable tyranny

3 An honographe hanishment.

The assemblies of the people were at first held in the open Forum. Afterwards, a covered building called the Comittum, was received for that purposes. There are no remains of it, but Lumbeten thinks that it probably stood on the couth side of the Forum, on the site of the present.

church of The Consolation .- Antiq of Rome, p. 357

Barillors from floathing,—starty or brass, p. 607.

Barillors from floathing a king. They were, indeed, the palaces of the sowereign people startly and spanlous belidings, with halis, which served the purpose of exchanges, consuel thembers, and courts of junious served the purpose of exchanges, consuel thembers, and courts of junious of the Barillors were afterwards converted into Christian churches.

"The floathing which were afterwards converted into Christian churches."

The floathing which were afterwards on the control of the control of the control of pillars, which formed what we should call the after this very rows of pillars, which formed what we should call the after this person. But the space of some of our churches, and was called Tra-basel, from banes being heard there. Herew the term Triffness is applied to that part of the Roman churches which is behind the high alar "—Burton a statis of Rama, p. 204.

tions he had made for the amusement of the people 'He entertained them with the hunting of wild beasts, and with games, both alone and in conjunction with his colleague. On this account, he obtained the whole credit of the expense to which they had jointly contributed, insomuch that his colleague, Marcus Bibulus, could not forbear remarking, that he was served in the manner of Pollux. For as the temple' erected in the Forum to the two brothers, went by the name of Castor alone, so his and Cæsar's joint munificence was imputed to the latter only. To the other public spectacles exhibited to the people, Cæsar added a fight of gladiators, but with fewer pairs of combatants than he had intended. For he had collected from all parts so great a company of them, that his enemies became alarmed, and a decree was made, restricting the number of gladiators which any one was allowed to retain at Rome

XI Having thus conciliated popular favour, he endcavoured, through his interest with some of the tribunes, to get Egypt assigned to him as a province, by an act of the people The pretext alleged for the creation of this extraordinary government, was, that the Alexandrians had violently expelled their king,8 whom the senate had complimented with the title of an ally and friend of the Roman people This was generally resented, but, notwithstanding, there was so much opposition from the faction of the nobles, that he could not carry his point. In order, therefore, to diminish their influence by every means in his power, he restored the trophies erected in honour of Caius Marius, on account of his victories over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutoni, which had been demolished by Sylla, and when sitting in judgment upon murderers, he treated those as assassins, who, in the late proscription, had received money from the treasury, for bringing in the heads of Roman citizens, although they were expressly excepted in the Cornelian laws

XII He likewise suborned some one to prefer an impeach-

2 Ptolemy Auletes, the son of Cleopatra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Such as statues and pictures, the works of Greek artists

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It appears to have stood at the foot of the Capitoline hill Piraness thinks that the two beautiful columns of white marble, which are commonly described as belonging to the portico of the temple of Jupiter Btator, are the remains of the temple of Castor and Pollux.

ment for treason against Caius Rabirius, by whose especial assistance the scatte had, a few years before, put down Lucius Saturnius, the seditious tribune and being drawn by lot a judge on the trial, he condemned him with so much animosity, that upon his appealing to the people no circumstance availed him so much as the extraordinary bitterness of his judge.

XIII. Having renounced all hope of obtaining Egypt for his province, he stood emblidate for the effice of chief pontiff to secure which, he had recourse to the most profuse bribery Calculating, on this occasion, the enormous amount of the debts he had contracted, he is reported to have said to his mother when she kissed him at his going out in the morning to the assembly of the people. I will never return home un less I am elected pointif. In effect, he left so far behind him two most powerful competitors, who were much his superiors both in age and rank, that he had more votes in their own tribes, than they both had in all the tribes together

XIV After he was chosen practor, the conspiracy of Catiline was discovered; and while every other member of the senate voted for inflicting capital punishment on the accomplices in that crime, he slone proposed that the delinquents should be distributed for safe oustedy among the towns of Italy, their property being confiscated. He even struck such terror into those who were advocates for greater severity by representing to them what universal edium would be attached to their memories by the Roman people, that Denus Silanus, consul elect, did not hentate to qualify his proposal, it not being very honourable to change it, by a lenient interpretation as if it had been understood in a harsher sense than he intended and Comer would certainly have carried his point, having brought over to his ade a great number of the senators, among whom was Cicero the consul s brother had not a speech by Marcus Cato infused new vigour into the resolutions of the senate. He persisted, however in obstructing the measure, until a body of the Roman knights, who stood under arms as a guard, threatened him with instant death if he continued his determined opposition. They even thrust at him with their drawn swords, so that those who sat next him moved away;

<sup>1</sup> Lentulus, Cethegus, and others.

and a few friends, with no small difficulty, protected him, by throwing their arms round him, and covering him with their togas. At last, deterred by this violence, he not only gave way, but absented himself from the senate-house during the remainder of that year

XV Upon the first day of his pretorship, he summoned Quintus Catulus to render an account to the people respecting the repairs of the Capitol, proposing a decree for transferring the office of curator to another person. But being unable to withstand the strong opposition made by the aristocratical party, whom he perceived quitting, in great numbers, their attendance upon the new consuls, and fully resolved to resist his proposal, he dropped the design

XVI He afterwards approved himself a most resolute supporter of Cœcilius Metullus, tribune of the people, who, in spite of all opposition from his colleagues, had proposed some laws of a violent tendency, until they were both dismissed from office by a vote of the senate. He ventured, notwithstanding, to retain his post and continue in the administration of justice, but finding that preparations were made to obstruct him by force of arms, he dismissed the lictors, threw off his gown, and betook himself privately to his own house, with the resolution of being quiet, in a time so unfavourable to his interests. He likewise pacified the mob, which two days afterwards flocked about him, and in a riotous manner made a voluntary tender of their assistance in the vindication of his

1 The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was commenced and completed by the Tarquins, kings of Rome, but not dedicated till the year after their expulsion, when that honour devolved on M. Horatius Pulvillus, the first of the consuls. Having been burnt down during the civil wars, AUC 670, Sylla restored it on the same foundations, but did not live to consecrate it.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning Pompey, not so much for the sake of the office, as having his name inserted in the inscription recording the repairs of the Capitol, instead of Catulus. The latter, however, secured the honour, and his name is still seen inscribed in an apartment at the Capitol, as its restorer

It being the calends of January, the first diy of the year, on which the magistrates solemnly entered on their offices, surrounded by their

Among others, one for recalling Pompey from Asia, under the pretext that the commonwealth was in langer. Cuto was one of the colleagues who saw through the design and opposed the decree honour This happening contrary to expectation the senate who met in haste, on account of the tumult, gave him their thanks by some of the leading members of the bouse, and sending for him after high commendation of his conduct, cancelled their former vote, and rooted him to his office.

XVII But he soon got into fresh trouble, being named amongst the accomplices of Catiline, both before Novius Niger the questor by Lucius Vetturs the informer and in the senate by Quintus Curius to whom a roward had been voted, for having first discovered the designs of the compirators. Curius affirmed that he had recoived his information from Catiline. Setture even engaged to produce in ovidence against him his own hand writing given to Catiline. Cover feeling that this treatment was not to be borne, appealed to Cicoro himself, whether he had not voluntarily made a discovery to him of some particulars of the compilaroy and so baulked Curius of his expected reward. He, therefore, obliged Votinus to give pledges for his behaviour sensed his goods, and after heavily fining him, and seeing him almost toru in pieces before the rostra, threw him into prison to which he likewise sent Novius the quisotre for having presumed to take an information against a magistrate of superior authority

XVII. At the expiration of his printorship he chained by lot the Farther Spain, and pacified his creditors, who were for detaining him, by finding strates for his debts. Contrary how ever to both law and custom, he took his departure before the usual equipage and cutfit were proported. It is uncertain whether this preequitancy arose from the apprehension of an impeachment, with which he was threatened on the expiration of his former office, or from his anxiety to lose no time in relieving the allies, who implored him to come to their said. He had no

<sup>1</sup> See before, p. 5. This was in a.u.c. 693.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pintarch Informs us, that Cassar before he came into office, owed his recreditors 1300 talests, somewhat more than £55 100 of our money. But his dabts increased to much after this period, if we may believe Applas that trops has departure for Spain, at the expiration of his pre-toriable his reported to have said, Bis militar of properties with a side advantage of properties of side in Applas that up 2,000,000 and bearty 30,000 sentences worse than pennifose. Crassus became his security for 830 talests, about £571,540 pp.

sooner established tranquillity in the province, than, without waiting for the arrival of his successor, he returned to Rome, with equal haste, to sue for a triumph, and the consulship. The day of election, however, being already fixed by proclamation, he could not legally be admitted a candidate, unless he entered the city as a private person? On this emergency he solicited a suspension of the laws in his favour, but such an indulgence being strongly opposed, he found himself under the necessity of abandoning all thoughts of a triumph, lest he should be disappointed of the consulship

XIX Of the two other competitors for the consulship, Lucius Lucius and Marcus Bibulus, he joined with the former, upon condition that Luceius, being a man of less interest but greater affluence, should promise money to the electors, in their joint names. Upon which the party of the nobles, dreading how far he might carry matters in that high effect of the conditions in the conditions of the conditions in the conditions of the conditions of the conditions in the conditions of the conditions o that high office, with a colleague disposed to concur in and second his measures, advised Bibulus to promise the voters as much as the other, and most of them contributed towards the expense, Cato himself admitting that bribery, under such circumstances, was for the public good. He was accordingly elected consul jointly with Bibulus Actuated still by the same motives, the prevailing party took care to assign provinces of small importance to the new consuls, such as the care of the woods and roads Cesar, incensed at this indignity, endeavoured by the most assiduous and flattering attentions to gain to his side Cneius Pompey, at that time dissatisfied with the senate for the backwardness they shewed to confirm his acts, after his victories over Mithridates He likewise brought about a reconciliation between Pompey and Marcus Crassus, who had been at variance from

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar was placed in this dilemma, that if he aspired to a triumph, he must remain outside the walls until it took place, while as a candidate

for the consulship, he must be resident in the city

For his victories in Gallicia and Lusitania, having led his army to the shores of the ocean, which had not before been reduced to submission

Even the severe censor was biassed by political expediency to sanction a system, under which what little remained of public virtue, and the love of liberty at Rome, were fast decaying The strict laws against bribery at elections were disregarded, and it was practised openly, and accepted without Sallust says that everything was venal, and that Rome itself might be bought, if any one was rich enough to purchase it Jugu-th. vin. 20, 3.

the time of their joint consulatip, in which office they were continually clashing and he entered into an agreement with both, that nothing should be transacted in the government, which was displeasing to any of the three.

XX. Having entered upon his office,1 he introduced a new regulation, that the daily acts both of the senate and people should be committed to writing and published. He also revived an old custom that an officer should precede him, and his lictors follow him, on the alternate months when the fasces were not carried before him. Upon preferring a bill to the people for the division of some public lands, he was opposed by his colleague, whom he violently drove out of the forum. Next day the insulted consul made a complaint in the senate of this treatment but such was the consternation, that no one having the courage to bring the matter forward or move a censure, which had been often done under outrages of less importance, he was so much dispirated, that until the expiration of his office he never stirred from home, and did nothing but usue edicts to obstruct his colleague a proceedings. From that time, therefore, Coear had the sole management of publicaffairs; insomuch that some wegs, when they signed any instrument as witnesses, did not add in the consulship of Comer and Bibulus," but, of Julius and Coser" putting the same per son down twice, under his name and surname. The following verses likewise were currently repeated on this cocesion

Non Bibulo quidquam nuper sed Caesare factum est; Nam Hibulo fieri consule nil memini.

> Nothing was done in Bibulus's year No Crear only then was consul here.

AU o. 696
The proceedings of the senate were reported in abort notes taken by one of their own order "strangers" not being admitted at their sittings. These notes included speeches as well as acts. These not the proceedings of the assembles of the people, were dully published in Journals (dimas) which contained also accounts of the trials at law with miscellasseon litelityness of births and deaths, narriages and divorces. The practice of pelalisting the proceedings of the senate, introduced by Julius Cesar was discontinued by Angusta.

Within the city the lictors walked before only one of the consun, and that commonly for a month alternately A public officer called Accessors, preceded the other consul, and the lictors followed. This

custom had long been disused, but was now restored by Cassar

The land of Stellas, consecrated by our ancestors to the gods, with some other lands in Campania left subject to tribute, for the support of the expenses of the government, he divided, but not by lot, among upwards of twenty thousand freemen, who had each of them three or more children. He eased the publicans, upon their petition, of a third part of the sum which they had engaged to pay into the public treasury, and openly admonished them not to bid so extravagantly upon the next occasion He made various profuso grants to meet the wishes of others, no one opposing him, or if any such attempt was made, it was soon suppressed Marcus Cato, who interrupted him in his proceedings, he ordered to be dragged out of the senate-house by a lietor, and carried to prison Lucius Lucullus, likewise, for opposing him with some warmth, he so terrified with the apprehension of being criminated, that, to deprecate the consul's resentment, he fell on his knees And upon Cicero's lamenting in some trial the miserable condition of the times, he the very same day, by mino o'clock, transferred his enemy, Publius Clodius, from a patrician to a plebeian family, a change which he had long solicited in vain 1 At last, effectually to intimidate all those of the opposite party, ho by great rowards prevailed upon Vottius to declare, that he had been solicited by certain persons to assassinate Pompey, and when he was brought before the rostra to name those who had been concerted between them, after naming one or two to no purpose, not without great suspicion of subornation, Cæsar, despairing of success in this rash stratagem, is supposed to have taken off his informor by poison

XXI About the same time he married Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Piso, who was to succeed him in the consulship, and gave his own daughter Julia to Cheius Pompey, rejecting Servilius Cæpio, to whom she had been contracted, and by whose means chiefly he had but a little before baffled Bibulus After this new alliance, he began, upon any debates in the senate, to ask Pompey's opinion first, whereas he used before to give that distinction to Marcus Crassus, and it was

In order that he might be a candidate for the tribuneship of the people, it was done late in the evening, at an unusual hour for public business.

the usual practice for the consul to observe throughout the year the method of consulting the senate which he had adopted on the calends (the first) of January

XXIL Being therefore, now supported by the interest of his father in law and son in-law of all the provinces he made choice of Gaul, as most likely to furnish him with matter and occasion for triumphs. At first indeed he received only Cisalpine-Gaul, with the addition of Illericum, by a decree proposed by Vaturius to the people but soon afterwards obtained from the senate Gallia-Comatal also, the senators being apprehensive, that if they should refuse it him, that province, also would be granted him by the people. Elated now with his success, he could not refrain from boesting, a few days afterwards, in a full senate-house, that he had, in spite of his enemics, and to their great mortification, obtained all he desired, and that for the future he would make them, to their shame, submisuve to his pleasure. One of the senators observing, seroesti cally: That will not be very easy for a woman' to do," he jocosely replied Semiramis formarly reigned in Amyria, and the Amazons possessed great part of Ama-

XXIII. When the term of his consulable had expired, upon a motion being made in the senate by Caius Memmius and Lucus Domatius, the practors, respecting the transactions of the year past, he offered to refer himself to the house but

<sup>1</sup> Grad was divided into two provisors. Transactina, or Galille Ultrier and Caselyin, or Clierier. The Cilerier haring nearly the same limit as Lombardy in after times, was properly a part of Italy occupied by coloniat from Grad, and, haring the Blathon, the ancient boundary of Italy on the south. It was also called Galille Topa! from the use of Italy on the south. It was also called Galille Topa! from the use of the Roman sape; the Inhalthants belon, after the social war admitted to the right of crittens. The Galille Transactions of Ultrier was called Counts, from the people wearing their halt long, while the Romans were it short and the southern part, afterwards called Nerioscensis came to have the spithest Bracestie, from the use of the Braces, which were so part of the Roman dress. Some writers suppose the France to have been breeches, but Aldus, in a short disquisition on the subject, affirms that they were a kind of upper dress. And this opinion seems to be countersmood by the name streegers being applied by the modern Celtle autions, the deconsalants of the Galille Calta, to signify their upper girment, or plaid.

Alluding, probably to certain seandals of a gross character which were tile against Conar See before, c. si (p. 2) and see also c. xlix. they declining the business, after three days spent in vain alternation, he set out for his province. Immediately, however, his questor was charged with several misdemeanors, for the purpose of implicating Cesar himself. Indeed, an accusation was soon after preferred against him by Lucius Antistius, tribune of the people, but by making an appeal to the tribune's colleagues, he succeeded in having the prosecution suspended during his absence in the service of the state. To secure himself, therefore, for the time to come, he was particularly careful to secure the good-will of the magistrates at the annual elections, assisting none of the candidates with his interest, nor suffering any persons to be advanced to any office, who would not positively undertake to defend him in his absence for which purpose he made no scruple to require of some of them an oath, and even a written obligation

XXIV But when Lucius Domitius became a candidate for the consulship, and openly threatened that, upon his being elected consul, he would effect that which he could not accomplish when he was prætor, and divest him of the command of the armies, he sent for Crassus and Pompey to Lucca, a city in his province, and pressed them, for the purpose of disappointing Domitius, to sue again for the consulship, and to continue him in his command for five years longer, with both which requisitions they complied Presumptuous now from his success, he added, at his own private charge, more legions to those which he had received from the republic, among the former of which was one levied in Transalpine Gaul, and called by a Gallic name, Alaluda, which he trained and armed in the Roman fashion, and afterwards conferred on it the freedom of From this period he declined no occasion of war, however unjust and dangerous, attacking, without any provocation, as well the allies of Rome as the barbarous nations which were its ememics insomuch, that the senate passed a decree for sending commissioners to examine into the condition of Gaul, and so me members even proposed that he should be delivered up to the members even proposed that he should be delivered up to the enemy But so great had been the success of his enterprises, that he had the honour of obtaining more days

I So called from
lank, Alauda, I in the feathers on their helmets, resembling the crest of
Days appoint of Alaudete
led by the senate for public thanksgiving in the temples

of supplication, and those more frequently, than had even pefore been decreed to any commander

XXV During nine years in which he held the government of the province, his achievements were as follows he reduced oll Gaul, bounded by the Pyrenean forest, the Alps, mount Gebenna, and the two rivers, the Rhone and the Rhone, and being about three thousand two hundred miles in compass, into the form of a province, excepting only the nations in alliance with the republic, and such as had merited his favour im posing upon this now sequention an annual tribute of forty mil hons of sesteroos. He was the first of the Romans who cross ing the Rhine by a bridge, attacked the Germanic tribes in habiting the country beyond that river, whom he defeated in several engagements. He also inveded the Britons, a people formerly unknown, and having vanquished them, exacted from them contributions and hostages. Amidst such a series of successes, he experienced thrace only any signal disaster once in Britain when his ficet was nearly wrecked in a storm in Gaul at Gargovia, where one of his legions was put to the rout and in the territory of the Gurmans, his lieutenants Titurius and Aurunculeius were cut off by an ambuscade.

XXVI During this period' he lost his mother' whose death was followed by that of his daughter' and, not long afterwards, of his granddaughter. Meanwhile, the republic being in consternation at the murder of Publius Clodius, and the senate passing a vote that only one censul, namely Casus Pompedius, should be chosen for the ensuing year he provalled with the tribunes of the people, who intended joining him in nomination with Pompey to propose to the people a bill enabling him though absent, to become a candidate for his eccond consulably, when the term of his command should be near expiring that he might not be obliged on that secount to quit his province too soon, and before the conclusion of the war. Having attained this object, carrying his views still higher and animated with the hopes of success, he omitted no

in the name of a victorious general, who had in the decrees the title of emperor by which they were saluted by the legious.

1 A. v. c. 702.

8 Auretia.

Jalla, the wife of Pompey who died in ch. didth.

opportunity of gaining universal favour, by acts of liberality and kindness to individuals, both in public and private money raised from the spoils of the war, he began to construct a new forum, the ground-plot of which cost him above a hundred millions of sesterces 1 He promised the people a public entertainment of gladiators, and a feast in memory of his daughter, such as no one before him had ever given more to raise their expectations on this oceasion, although he had agreed with victuallers of all denominations for his feast, he made yet farther preparations in private houses He issued an order, that the most celebrated gladiators, if at any time during the combat they incurred the displeasure of the public, should be immediately earried off by force, and reserved for some future occasion. Young gladiators he trained up, not in the school, and by the masters, of defence, but in the houses of Roman knights, and even senators, skilled in the use of arms, earnestly requesting them, as appears from his letters, to undertake the discipline of those novitiates, and to give them the word during their exercises He doubled the pay of the legions in perpetuity, allowing them likewise corn, when it was in plenty, without any restriction, and sometimes distributing to every soldier in his army a slave, and a portion of land

XXVII To maintain his alliance and good understanding with Pompey, he offered him in marriage his sister's grand-daughter Octavia, who had been married to Caius Marcellus, and requested for himself his daughter, lately contracted to Faustus Sylla. Every person about him, and a great part likewise of the senate, he secured by loans of money at low interest, or none at all, and to all others who came to wait upon him, either by invitation or of their own accord, he made liberal presents, not neglecting even the freed-men and slaves, who were favourites with their masters and patrons. He offered also singular and ready aid to all who were under prosecution, or in debt, and to produgal youths, excluding from

<sup>1</sup> Conquest had so multiplied business at Rome, that the Roman forum became too little for transacting it, and could not be enlarged without clearing away the buildings with which it was surrounded. Hence the enormous sum which its site is said to liave cost, amounting, it is calculated, to £807,291 of our money. It stood near the old forum, behind the temple of Romulus and Reinus, but not a vestige of it remains.

his bounty those only who were so deeply plunged in guilt poverty or luxury that it was impossible effectually to relieve them. These, he openly declared could derive no benefit from any other means than a civil war

XXVIII. He endeavoured with equal assiduty to engage in his interest princes and provinces in overy part of the world presenting some with thousands of captives, and sending to others the assistance of troops, at whatever time and place they desired without any anthority from either the senate or people of Rome. He likewise embellished with magnificent public buildings the most powerful caties not only of Italy Gaul, and Spain but of Greece and Asia until all people being now astonished, and speculating on the obvious tendency of these proecedings, Claudius Marcellus, the consul, declaring first by proclamation, that he intended to propose a measure of the utmost importance to the state made a motion in the senate that some person should be appointed to succeed Corner in his province, before the term of his command was expired because the war being brought to a conclusion, peace was restored, and the victorious army englit to be disbanded. He further moved, that Comer being absent, his claims to be a candidate at the next election of consuls should not be admitted as Pompey himself had afterwards abrogated that privilege by a decree of the people The fact was, that Pompey in his law relating to the choice of chief magistrates, had forgot to except Cozar in the article in which he declared all such as were not present incapable of being candidates for any office but soon afterwards, when the law was inscribed on brass, and deposited in the treasury he corrected his mistake. Marcellus, not content with depriving Capear of his provinces, and the privilege intended him by Pompey likewise moved the senate, that the freedom of the city should be taken from those colonists whom by the Vata nian law he had settled at New Come 1 because it had been conferred upon them with ambitious riews, and by a stretch of the laws.

Omnum was a town of the Orobil, of ancient standing, and formerly powerful. Allim Genar added to it is a thousand new colonits; where it was generally called Norocommum. But in time it recovered its ancient name Commum; Pil y the younger who was a native of this place, calling it by no other name.

XXIX Roused by these proceedings, and thinking, as he was often heard to say, that it would be a more difficult enterprise to reduce him, now that he was the chief man in the state, from the first rank of citizens to the second, than from the second to the lowest of all, Casar made a vigorous opposition to the measure, partly by means of the tribunes, who interposed in his behalf, and partly through Servius Sulpicius, the other consul The following year likewise, when Caius Marcellus, who succeeded his cousin Marcus in the consulship, pursued the same course, Cæsar, by means of an immense bribe, engaged in his defence Æmilius Paulus, the other consul, and Caius Curio, the most violent of the tribunes finding the opposition obstinately bent against him, and that the consuls-elect were also of that party, he wrote a letter to the senate, requesting that they would not deprive him of the privilege kindly granted him by the people, or clse that the other generals should resign the command of their armies as well as himself, fully persuaded, as it is thought, that he could more easily collect his veteran soldiers, whenever he pleased, than Pompey could his new-raised troops same time, he made his adversaries an offer to disband eight of his legions and give up Transalpine-Gaul, upon condition that he might retain two legions, with the Cisalpine province, or but one legion with Illyricum, until he should be elected consul

XXX But as the senate declined to interpose in the business, and his enemies declared that they would enter into no compromise where the safety of the republic was at stake, he advanced into Hither-Gaul, and, having gone the circuit for the administration of justice, made a halt at Ravenna, resolved to have recourse to arms if the senate should proceed to extremity against the tribunes of the people who had espoused his cause. This was indeed his pretext for the civil war, but it is supposed that there were other motives for his conduct. Cheius Pompey used frequently to say, that he sought to throw every thing into confusion, because he was unable, with all his private wealth, to complete the works he had begun, and answer, at his return, the vast expectations which he had excited in the people. Others pretend that he was apprehensive of being

called to account for what he had done in his first convalship, contrary to the auspices, laws, and the protests of the tributes; Marcus Cate having sometimes declared and that too, with an eath, that he would prefer an impeachment against him as soon as he disbanded his army. A report likewise provailed, that if he returned as a private person he would like Milo, have to plead his cause before the judges, surrounded by armed men. This conjecture is rendered highly probable by Annian Pellie who informs us that Camer upon viewing the van quilibed and slaughtered enemy in the field of Pharsalla, expressed himself in these very words. 'This was their intention I Caius Camer after all the great achievements I had performed, must have been condemned had I not summoned the army to my aid!' Some think, that having contracted from less win and his enemies strength, he embraced that occasion of murping the supreme power which indeed be had coveted from the time of his youth. This seems to have been the opinion entertained by Clorro who tells us, in the third book of his Offices, that Camer used to have frequently in his month two verses of Europides. Which he thus translates:

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia Violandum est allis rebus pictatem colas Bo just uniess a kingdom tempts to break the laws, For sorreriga power alone can justify the cause.\

XXXI. When intelligence, therefore, was received, that the interposition of the tribunes in his favour had been utterly rejected, and that they themselves had fied from the city he im mediately sent forward some coborts, but privately to prevent any suspicion of his design and, to keep up appearances, at tended at a public spectacle, examined the model of a forcing school which he proposed to build, and, as usual, sat down to table with a numerous party of his friends. But after sun-set, mules being put to his carriage from a neighbouring mill, he set forward on his journey with all possible privacy and a small retune. The lights going out he lost his way and

<sup>1</sup> Livin yap dilutir yah repervilog nipe Kalduster klusir radda li benjair yapur --Eurip Phanisa Act II., where Eteocles aspires to become the tyrant of Thomas

wandered about a long time, until at length, by the help of a guide, whom he found towards day-break, he proceeded on foot through some narrow paths, and again reached the road Coming up with his troops on the banks of the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he halted for a while, and, revolving in his mind the importance of the step he was on the point of taking, he turned to those about him, and said "We may still retreat, but if we pass this little bridge, nothing is left for us but to fight it out in arms"

XXXII While he was thus hesitating, the following incident occurred. A person remarkable for his noble men and graceful aspect, appeared close at hand, sitting and playing upon a pipo. When, not only the shepherds, but a number of soldiers also flocked from their posts to listen to him, and some trumpeters among them, he snatched a trumpet from one of them, ran to the river with it, and sounding the advance with a piereing blast, crossed to the other side. Upon this, Cæsar exclaimed, "Let us go whither the omens of the Gods and the iniquity of our enemies call us. The die is now cast."

XXXIII Accordingly, having marched his army over the river, he shewed them tho tribunes of the people, who, upon their being driven from the city, had come to meet him, and, in the presence of that assembly, called upon the troops to pledge him their fidelity, with tears in his eyes, and his garment rent from his bosom It has been supposed, that upon this occasion he promised to every soldier a knight's estate, but that opinion is founded on a mistake For when, in his harangue to them, he frequently held out a finger of his left hand, and declared, that to recompenso those who should support him in the defence of his honour, he would willingly part even with his ring, the soldiers at a distance, who could more easily see than hear him while ho spoke, formed their ecnception of what he said, by the eye, not by the ear, and accordungly gave out, that he had promised to each of them the privi

\* The ring was worn on the finger next to the little finger of the left

band

Now the Pisatello, near Rimini There was a very ancient law of the republic forbidding any general, returning from the wars, to cross the Rubicon with his troops under arms

lego of wearing the gold ring and an estate of four hundred thousand sesterces.

XXXIV Of his subsequent proceedings I shall give a cur sory detail, in the order in which they occurred." He took possession of Picenum Umbria, and Etruria and having obliged Lucius Domitius, who had been tumultuously nomi nated his successor and held Commum with a garrison to surrender and dismissed him, he marched along the coast of the Upper Sea to Brundesium, to which place the consuls and Pompey were fled with the intention of crossing the sea as soon as possible. After vain attempts, by all the obstacles he could oppose, to provent their leaving the harbour he turned his steps towards Rome, where he appealed to the senate on the present state of public affairs and then set out for Spain in which province Pompey had a numerous army under the command of three licutements, Marcus Petrerus, Lumus Afranus, and Mar cus Varro declaring amongst his friends, before he set for ward. That he was going against an army without a general, and should return thence against a general without an army " Though his progress was retarded both by the surge of Mar scilles, which shut her gates against him and a very great scarcity of corn, yet in a short time he bore down all before him

XXXY Thence he returned to Rome and crossing the sea to Macedania, blocked up Pompey during almost four months, within a line of ramparts of predigious extent and at last defeated hun in the battle of Pharsalis. Pursuing him in his flight to Alexandras, where he was informed of his nurder he presently found himself also engaged under all the disedran tages of time and place in a very dangerous war with king Ptolemy who, he saw had trencherous designs upon his life it was winter and he within the walls of a well provided and subtle centry was destute of every thing and wholly un-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sectorins here accounts for the mistake of the soldiers with great probability. The class to which they imagined they were to be promoted, was that of the equitee, or halfplus, who were a gold rise, and were possessed of property to the amovest stated in the text. Great as was the inbestilty of Carsa to his legions, the performance of this imaginary promise was beyond all reasonable expectation.
<sup>2</sup> ALT CO.

prepared for such a conflict He succeeded, however, in hisenterprise, and put the kingdom of Egypt into the hands of Cleopatra and her younger brother, being afraid to make it a province, lest, under an aspiring prefect, it might become the centre of revolt. From Alexandria he went into Syria, and thence to Pontus, induced by intelligence which he had received respecting Pharnaces. This prince, who was son of the great Mithridates, had seized the opportunity which the distraction of the times offered for making war upon his neighbours, and his insolence and fierceness had grown with his success. Cæsar, however, within five days after entering his country, and four hours after coming in sight of him, overthrew him in one decisive battle. Upon which, he frequently remarked to those about him the good fortune of Pompey, who had obtained his military reputation, chiefly, by victory over so feeble an enemy. He afterwards defeated Scipio and Juba, who were rallying the remains of the party in Africa, and Pompey's sons in Spain

XXXVI During the whole course of the civil war, he never once suffered any defeat, except in the case of his lieu tenants, of whom Caius Curio fell in Africa, Caius Antonius was made prisoner in Illyricum, Publius Dolabella lost a fleet in the same Illyricum, and Cneius Domitius Calvinus, an army in Pontus—In every encounter with the enemy where he himself commanded, he came off with complete success, nor was the issue ever doubtful, except on two occasions—once at Dyrachium, when, being obliged to give ground, and Pompey not pursuing his advantage, he said that "Pompey knew not how to conquer," the other instance occurred in his last battle in Spain, when, despairing of the event, he even had thoughts of killing himself

XXXVII For the victories obtained in the several wars, he triumphed five different times, after the defeat of Scipio four times in one month, each triumph succeeding the former by an interval of a few days, and once again after the conquest of Pompey's sons. His first and most glorious triumph was for the victories he gained in Gaul, the next for that of Alexandria, the third for the reduction of Pontus, the fourth for his African victory, and the last for that in Spain, and

they all differed from each other in their varied pomp and pa geantry. On the day of the Gallie triumph as he was proceeding along the street called Velahrum, after narrowly occaping a full from his charact by the breaking of the arle-tree he ascended the Capitel by torch-light, forty deplants' carrying terches on his right and left. Amongst the pageantry of the Ponte triumph, a tablet with this incomption was curried before him. I carre, I saw I cornerance on one signifying as other motios on the like occasion, what was done, so much as the dispatch with which it was done.

XXXVIII. To every foot-soldier in his veteran legions, be-

ades the two thousand sestences poud him in the beginning of the civil war, he gave twenty thousand more, in the shape of prixe-money. He likewise allotted them lands, but not in contiguity that the former owners might not be entirely disposesced. To the people of Bome besides ten modul of own, and as many pounds of oil, he gave three hundred seaterers a man, which he had formerly promised them, and a hundred more to each for the delay in fulfilling his engagement. He likewise remitted a year a rent due to the treasury for such houses in Bome as did not pay above two thousand seaterers a year and through the rest of Italy, for all such as did not pay above two thousand seaterers a year and through the rest of Italy, for all such as did not pay for like in the haded a public entertainment, and a distribution of ment, and, after his Spanish victory 'two public dinners. For considering the first he had given as too sparing and unsuited to his profuso liberality he five days afterwards, added another which was most plentiful.

XXXIX. The speciacles he exhibited to the people were of various kinds; namely a combat of gladiators and stage

Elephants were first introduced at Eome by Pompey the Great, in his African triumph.

<sup>\*</sup> YENT YIDL VICE

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> AUG. 05.

<sup>6</sup> Glidition were first publicly exhibited at Rome by two brothers called Bruth, at the funeral of their father AUG. 490; and for sone time they were exhibited only on sone occasion. But afterwards they were also employed by the magistrates, to extertain the people, particularly at the Saternake, and feats of Minerra. These crost speciates were possibilited by Constantios, but not entirely suppressed usual the time of He-Borias.

some time become extremely confused, through the unwarrantable liberty which the pontiffs had taken in the article of intercalation. To such a height had this abuse proceeded, that neither the festivals designed for the harvest fell in summer, nor those for the vintage in autumn. He accommodated the year to the course of the sun, ordaining that in future it should consist of three hundred and sixty-five days without any intercalary month, and that every fourth year an intercalary day should be inserted. That the year might thenceforth commence regularly with the calends, or first of January, he inserted two months between November and December, so that the year in which this regulation was made consisted of fifteen months, including the month of intercalation, which, according to the division of time then in use, happened that year

XLI. He filled up the vacancies in the senate, by advancing several pleberans to the rank of patricians, and also increased the number of prætors, ædiles, quæstors, and inferior magistrates, restoring, at the same time, such as had been degraded by the censors, or convicted of bribery at elections of magistrates he so divided with the people, that, excepting only the candidates for the consulship, they nominated one half of them, and he the other The method which he practised in those cases was, to recommend such persons as he had pitched upon, by bills dispersed through the several tribes to "Cæsar the dictator to such a tribe (naming it). I recommend to you ---- (naming likewise the persons), that by the favour of your votes they may attain to the honours for which they sue" He likewise admitted to offices the sons of those who had been proscribed The trial of causes he restricted to two orders of judges, the equestrian and senatorial. excluding the tribunes of the treasury who had before made a The revised census of the people he ordered to be taken neither in the usual manner or place, but street by street, by the principal inhabitants of the several quarters of the city, and he reduced the number of those who received corn at the public cost, from three hundred and twenty, to a hundred and fifty, thousand To prevent any tumults on account of the census, he ordered that the prætor should every year fill up by lot the vacancies occasioned by death, from those who were not enrolled for the receipt of corn

XLII Eighty thousand eltrans having been distributed into foreign colonies,' he coacted in order to stop the drain on the population that no freeman of the city above twenty and under forty years of age, who was not in the military ser vice, should sheent himself from Italy for more than three years at a time that no senator's son should go abroad, unless in the retinue of some high officer and as to those whose pur suit was tending flocks and herds, that no less than a third of the number of their shepherds free-born should be youths. He likowise made all those who practised physic in Rome, and all teachers of the liberal arts, free of the city, in order to fix them in it, and induce others to settle there. With respect to debts, he disappointed the expectation which was generally entertained, that they would be totally cancelled and ordered that the debtors should satisfy their creditors, according to the valuation of their estates, at the rate at which they were pur chased before the commencement of the civil war, deducting from the debt what had been paid for interest either in money or by bonds; by virtue of which provision about a fourth part of the debt was lost. He dissolved all the guilds, except such as were of ancient foundation. Orimes were punished with greater severity and the rich being more easily induced to commit them because they were only liable to banishment, without the forfeiture of their property he supped murderers, as Cheero observes, of their whole estates, and other offenders of one half.

VLIII He was extremely escadaous and struct in the administration of justice. He expelled from the senate such members as were convicted of bribery and he dissolved the marriage of a man of prestorian rank, who had married a lady two days siter her durors from a former husband, although there was no suspecion that they had been guilty of any illust tennection. He imposed duties on the importation of foreign goods. The use of hiters for travelling, purple robes, and lewels, he permitted only to persons of a certain age and station, and on perticular days. He enforced a rapid execution of the sumptany laws placing officers about the markets, to exist upon all meats exposed to sale contrary to the rules, and bring them to him sometimes seconding has better and soldiers to

Principally Carthage and Corinth.

carry away such victuals as had escaped the notice of the officers, even when they were upon the table

XLIV His thoughts were now fully employed from day to lay on a variety of great projects for the embellishment and improvement of the city, as well as for guarding and extending the bounds of the empire In the first place, he meditated the construction of a temple to Mars, which should exceed in grandeur every thing of that kind in the world For this purpose, he intended to fill up the lake on which he had entertained the people with the spectacle of a sea-fight projected a most spacious theatre adjacent to the Tarpeian mount, and also proposed to reduce the civil law to a reasonable compass, and out of that immense and undigested mass of statutes to extract the best and most necessary parts into a few books, to make as large a collection as possible of works in the Greek and Latin languages, for the public use, the province of providing and putting them in proper order being assigned to Marcus Varro He intended likewise to drain the Pomptine marshes, to cut a channel for the discharge of the waters of the lake Fucinus, to form a road from the Upper Sea through the ridge of the Appenine to the Tiber, to make a cut through the 1sthmus of Cornth, to reduce the Dacians, who had over-run Pontus and Thrace, within their proper limits, and then to make war upon the Parthians, through the Lesser Armenia, but not to risk a general engagement with them, until he had made some trial of their prowess in war But in the midst of all his undertakings and projects, he was carried off by death, before I speak of which, it may not be improper to give an account of his person, dress, and manners, together with what relates to his pursuits, both civil and military

XLV It is said that he was tall, of a fair complexion, round limbed, rather full faced, with eyes black and piercing, and that he enjoyed excellent health, except towards the close of his life, when he was subject to sudden fainting-fits, and disturbance in his sleep. He was likewise twice seized with the falling sickness while engaged in active service. He was so dice in the care of his person, that he not only kept the hair of his head closely cut and had his face smoothly shaved, but

even caused the hair on other parts of the body to be placked out by the roots, a practice for which some persons rallied him Ilis beldness gave him much uncanness, having often found himself upon that account exposed to the jibes of his enemies. Ho therefore used to bring forward the hair from the crown of his head and of all the honours conferred upon him by the senate and people, there was none which he either excepted or used with greater pleasure than the right of wearing constantly a laurel crown. It is said that he was particular in his dress. For he used the Latus (Clarus) with fringes about the wrists, and always had it girded about him but rather loosely. This circumstance gave oright to the expression of Sylla, who often advased the nables to beware of the ill girt boy

XLVI. He first inhabited a small house in the Suburn \* but after his advancement to the pontificate he occupied a palace belonging to the state in the Via Szern. Many writers say that he liked his readence to be elegant, and his entertainments sumptions and that he entirely took down a villa near the grove of Aricia which he had built from the foundation and finished at a vust expense because it did not exactly suit his tarte although he had at that time but alender means, and was in dobt; and that he carried about in his expeditions tesselated and marble alasts for the foot of his text.

VLVII They likewise report that he invaded lintain in hopes of finding pearis, the size of which he would compare together and ascertain the weight by polsing them in his hand that he would purchase, at any cost, genns, carved works, statues, and pictures, executed by the eminent maters of an tiquity and that he would give for young and handy slaves a price so extraregant, that he forbed its being entered in the diary of his expenses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Lates Clavus was a broad stripe of purple, on the front of the toga. Its width distinguished it from that of the halfalts, who were it sarraw.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Subserse Lay between the Celian and Esquilles hills. It was one of the most frequented quarters of Rome.

Beds, quoti g Solistis, we believe says that excellent pears were found in the British seas, and that they were of all colours, but principally white. Ercel. Hills, b. fr. 1.

XLVIII We are also told, that in the provinces he constantly maintained two tables, one for the officers of the army, and the gentry of the country, and the other for Romans of the nighest rank, and provincials of the first distinction. He was so very exact in the management of his domestic affairs, both little and great, that he once threw a baker into prison, for serving him with a finer sort of bread than his guests, and put to death a freed-man, who was a particular favourite, for debauching the lady of a Roman knight, although no complaint had been made to him of the affair

XLIX The only stain upon his chastity was his having cohabited with Nicomedes, and that indeed stuck to him all the days of his life, and exposed him to much bitter raillery. I will not dwell upon those well-known verses of Calvus Licinus

Whate'er Bithynia and her lord possess'd, Her lord who Cæsar in his lust caress'd 1

I pass over the speeches of Dolabella, and Curio, the father, in which the former calls him "the queen's rival, and the inner-side of the royal couch," and the latter, "the brothel of Nicomedes, and the Bithynian stew" I would likewise say nothing of the edicts of Bibulus, in which he proclaimed his colleague under the name of "the queen of Bithynia," adding, that "he had formerly been in love with a king, but now coveted a kingdom" At which time, as Marcus Brutus relates, one Octavius, a man of a crazy bruin, and therefore the more free in his raillery, after he had in a crowded assembly saluted Pompey by the title of king, addressed Cæsar by that of queen Calus Memmius likewise upbraided him with serving the king at table, among the rest of his catamites, in the presence of a large company, in which were some merchants from Rome, the names of whom he mentions But Cicero was not content with writing in some of his letters, that he was conducted by the royal attendants into the king's bed-chamber, lay upon a bed of gold with a covering of purple, and that the youthful bloom of this scion of Venus had been tainted in Bithynia — but upon Cæsar's pleading the cause of Nysa, the daughter of

Et prædicator Cæsaris unquain habuit

Nicomedos before the senate and recounting the king s kind nesses to him replied ' Pray tell us no more of that for it is well known what be gave you, and you gave him ' To con clude his soldiers in the Galho triumph, amongst other verses, such as they joenlarly sung on these occasions, following the general scharlot, recited these, which since that time have become extremely common:

The Gaula to Cresar yield, Cresar to Niconarde, Lo! Cresar triampha for his glorious deed But Cresar's conqueror gains no victor's meed.<sup>1</sup>

L. It is admitted by all that he was much addicted to women, as well as very expensive in his jutingues with them and that he debauched many ladies of the highest quality among whom were Posthumia, the wife of Servius Sulpicius Lollia, the wife of Aulus Gabinius Tertulla, the wife of Mar cus Crasas and Muoia, the wife of Cucius Pempey For it is certain that the Curios, both father and son and many others, made it a represent to Pompey That to gratify his ambition he married the daughter of a man upon whose account he had divorced his wife after having had three children by her and whom he used, with a deep sigh to call Agrichas in But the mi trees he most loved, was bervalus, the mother of Marcus Brutus, for whom he purchased, in his first consulship after the commencement of their intrigue a pearl which cost him six millions of sesterces; and in the civil war besides other presents, assigned to her for a trilling consideration some valuable farms when they were exposed to public auction, Many persons expressing their surprise at the lowners of the price Cicero wittily remarked, "To let you know the real value of the purchase between ourselves, Tertia was deducted for Servilia was supposed to have prostituted her daughter Tertili to Carar

> Oallias Carsar subegit Vicomedes Carsarem; Fore Carsar nume momphat qui subegit Gallias Vicumedes non trampphat qui subegit Carsarem

a Litthus, who like Crear was pointif delirached Clytemoretra while transmission was recorded in the Troj n war as Crear did Uncla, the wife of Pompey while absent is the war gainst Mithindates

3 if double extender; Tertia signifit g the third (of the value of the farm) a w ll as being the arms of the girl, for whose f sours the deduction was made.

LI That he had intrigues likewise with married won in the provinces, appears from this distich, which was as much repeated in the Gallic criumph as the former.—

Watch well your wives, ye cits, we bring a blade, A bald-pate master of the wenching trade. Thy gold was spent on many a Gallic w——e, Exhausted now, thou com'st to borrow more!

LII In the number of his mistresses were also some queens, such as Eunoë, a Moor, the wife of Bogudes, to whom and her husband he made, as Naso reports, many large presents But his greatest favourite was Cleopatra, with whom he often revelled all night until the dawn of day, and would have gone with her through Egypt in dalliance, as far as Æthiopia, in her luxumous yacht, had not the army refused to follow him He afterwards invited her to Rome, whence he sent her back loaded with honours and presents, and gave her permission to call by his name a son, who, according to the testimony of some Greek historians, resembled Cæsar both in person and Mark Antony declared in the senate, that Cæsar had acknowledged the child as his own, and that Caius Matias, Caius Oppius, and the rest of Cæsar's friends knew it to On which occasion, Oppius, as if it had been an imputation which he was called upon to refute, published a book to shew, "that the child which Cleopatra fathered upon Cresar, was not his" Helvius Cinna, tribune of the people, admitted to several persons the fact, that he had a bill ready drawn, which Cæsar had ordered him to get enacted in his absence, allowing him, with the hope of leaving issue, to take any wife he chose, and as many of them as he pleased, and to leave no room for doubt of his infamous character for unnatural lewdness and adultery, Curio, the father, says, in one of his speeches, "He was every woman's man, and every man's wom in "

IIII It is aeknowledged even by his enemies, that in regard to wine, he was abstemious. A remark is ascribed to Mareus Cato, "that Cæsar was the only sober man amongst all those who were engaged in the design to subvert

Urbani, servate uxores, mœchum calvum adducimus Aurum in Gallia effutuisti hic suiapsisti mutuum

the government." In the matter of diet, Caius Oppius in forms us, 'that he was so indifferent, that when a person in whose house he was entertained, had served him with stale instead of fresh oil,' and the rest of the company would not touch it, he alone ato very heartly of it, that he might not seem to tax the master of the house with rusticity or want of at fention."

LIV But his abstinence did not extend to pecuniary ad vantages, either in his military commands, or civil offices for we have the testimony of some writers, that he took meney from the proconsul who was his predecessor in Spain and from the Roman allies in that quarter for the discharge of his debts; and plundered at the point of the sword some towns of the Lusitanians, notwithstanding they attempted no resistance and opened their gutes to him upon his arrival before them In Gaul, he rifled the chapels and temples of the gods, which were filled with rich offerings, and demolished cities oftener for the sake of their spoil, than for any ill they had done. By this means gold became so plentiful with him that he exchanged it through Italy and the provinces of the empire for three thousand sesterces the pound. In his first consulship he purloined from the Capital three thousand pounds weight of gold, and substituted for it the same quantity of gilt brass. He bartered likewise to foreign nations and princes, for gold, the titles of allies and kings and squeezed out of Ptolemy alone near six thousand talents, in the name of himself and Pemper He afterwards supported the expense of the civil wars, and of his triumphs and public speciacles, he the most flagrant rapine and ascrilece.

LV In eloquence and warlike achievements, he equalled at least, if he did not surpars, the greatest of men. After his presecution of Dolabella, he was induputably reckoned one of the
most distinguished advocates. Cleero, in recounting to Bru
tus the famous ornors, declares, that he does not see that
Cerar was inferior to any one of them—and says, that he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Platarch tells us that the oil was used in a dish of asparagus. Every its effer knows that is those climates oil taken the place of laster as an ingredical in cookery and it needs no experience to fascy what it is when march.

hal an clegant, splendid, noble, and magnificent vein of eloquence" And in a letter to Cornelius Nepos, he writes of him in the following terms "What! Of all the orators, who, during the whole course of their lives, have done nothing else, which can you prefer to him? Which of them is more pointed or terse in his periods, or employs more polished and elegant language?" In his youth, he seems to have chosen Strabo Cæsar for his model, from whose oration in behalf of the Sardinians ho has transcribed some passages literally into his In his delivery he is said to have had a shrill voice, and his action was animated, but not ungraceful left behind him some speeches, amon; which are ranked a few that are not genuine, such as that on behalf of Quintus Me-These Augustus supposes, with reason, to be rather the production of blundering short-hand writers, who were not able to keep page with him in the delivery, than publications of his own For I find in some copies that the title is not "For Metellus," but "What he wrote to Metellus," whereas the speech is delivered in the name of Cæsar, vindicating Metellus and himself from the aspersions cast upon them by their common defamers The speech addressed "To his soldiers in Spain," Augustus considers likewise as spurious We meet with two under this title, one made, as is pretended, in the first battle, and the other in the last, at which time, Asimus Pollio says, he had not leisure to address the soldiers, on account of the suddenness of the enemy s attack

LVI He has likewise left Commentaries of his own actions both in the war in Gaul, and in the civil war with Pompey, for the author of the Alexandrian, African, and Spanish wars is not known with any certainty. Some think they are the production of Oppius, and some of Hirtius, the latter of whom composed the last book, which is imperfect, of the Gallic war. Of Cæsar's Commentaries, Cicero, in his Brutus, speaks thus "He wrote his Commentaries in a manner deserving of great approbation, they are plain, precise, and clegant, without any affectation of rhetorical ornament. In having thus prepared materials for others who might be inclined to write his history, he may perhaps have encouraged some silly creatures to enter upon such a work, who will needs be dressing up his actions in all the extravagance.

bombas. but he has discouraged wise men from ever attempt. ing the subject. Hirtius delivers his opinion of these Com mentaries in the following terms So great is the approba tion with which they are universally perused that, instead of rousing he seems to have precluded, the efforts of any future historian 1ct, with respect to this work, we have more reason to admire him than others for they only know how well and correctly he has written, but we know likewise, how easily and quickly he did it. Pollie Amnius thinks that they were not drawn up with much core or with a due regard to truth for he insinuates that Corner was too hasty of belief in regard to what was performed by others under his orders and that, he has not given a very faithful account of his own acts, either hy design, or through defect of memory expressing at the same time an opinion that Casar intended a new and more correct edition. He has left behind him likewise two books on Analogy with the same number under the title of Anti Cate and a poom entitled The Itinerary Of these books, he composed the first two in his passage over the Alps, as he was returning to the army after making his circuit in Hither Gaul the second work about the time of the buttle of Munda and the last during the four-and twenty days he employed in his journey from Rome to Farther-Spain. There are extant some letters of his to the senate written in n man ner never practised by any before him for they are distin guished into pages in the form of a memorandum book whereas the consuls and commanders till then, used constantly in their letters to continue the line quite across the sheet without any folding or distinction of pages. There are extent likewise some letters from him to Cicero, and others to his friends, concerning his domestic affairs in which, if there was occasion for secreey he wrote in exphera that is, he used the alphabet in such a manner that not a single word could be made out. The way to decipher those epistles was to substitute the fourth for the first letter as a for a and so for the other letters respectively. Some things likewise pass under his name said to have been written by him when a boy or a very young man as the Lucomium of Hercules, a tragedy entitled (hippe, and a collection of apophthegms all which Augustus forbad to be published, in a short and plain letter to Pompeius Macer who was employed by him in the arrange ment of his hitraries

INII He was perfect in the use of arms, an accomplished rider, and able to endure fatigue beyond all belief. On a maich, he used to go at the head of his troops, sometimes on horseback, but oftener on toot, with his head bare in all kinds of weather. He would travel post in a light carriage without baggage, at the rate of a hundred miles a day, and if he was stopped by floods in the rivers, he swam across, or floated on skins inflited with wind, so that he often anticipated intelligence of his movements.

LVIII In his expeditions, it is difficult to say whether his cantion or his daring was most conspicuous. He never marched his army by roads which were exposed to ambuscades, without having previously examined the nature of the ground by Nor did he cross over to Britain, before he had carefully examined, in person,3 the navigation, the harbours, and the most convenient point of landing in the island When intelligence was brought to him of the siege of his camp in Germany, he made his way to his troops, through the enemy's stations, in a Gaulish dress He crossed the sea from Brundisium and Dyrrachium, in the winter, through the midst of the enemy's fleets, and the troops, under orders to join him, being slow in their movements, notwithstanding repeated messages to hurry them, but to no purpose, he at last went privately, and alone, aboard a small vessel in the night time. with his head muffled up, nor did he make himself known. or suffer the master to put about, although the wind blew strong against them, until they were ready to sink

LIX He was never deterred from any enterprise, nor retarded in the prosecution of it, by superstition When a victim, which he was about to offer in sacrifice, made its

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch informs us that Cresar travelled with such expedition, that he

reached the Rhone on the eighth day after he left Rome

s Cæsar tells us himself that he employed C Volusenus to reconnoitre the coast of Britain, sending him forward in a long ship, with orders to return and make his report before the expedition sailed.

A Religione, that is, the omens being unfavourable.

<sup>1</sup> Meritoria rheda, a light four-wheeled carriage, apparently hired either for the journey or from town to town. They were tolerably commodious, for Cicero writes to Atticus, (v 17) Hanc epistolam dictavisedens in rheda, cum in castra proficiscerer

except, he did not therefore defer his expedition against Sciple and Juba. And happening to fall, upon stepping out of the ship, he gave a lucky turn to the omen, by exclaiming, 'I hold thee fast, Africa. To chide the prophecies which were spread abroad, that the name of the Sciplos was, by the decrees of fate, fortunate and invincible in that province he retained in the camp a profligate wretch of the family of the Carachi who on account of his scandalous life, was sur named Solutio.

IX. He not only fought pitched beitles, but made sudden attacks when an opportunity sifered often at the end of a march and sometimes during the most violent storms, when nobody could imagine he would star. Nor was he ever back ward in fighting until towards the end of his hie. He then was of opinion, that the oftener he had been crowned with success, the less he ought to expose himself to new hazards and that nathing he could gain by a victory would compensate for what he might lose by a miscarriage. He never defeated the enemy without driving them from their camp and giving them no time to rally their forces. When the issue of a battle was doubtful, he sent away all the horses, and his own first, that having no means of thight, they might be under the greater necessity of standing their ground.

LXI He rode a very remarkable horse with feet almost like those of a man, the hoofs being divided in such a manner as to have some resemblance to toes. This horse he had bred himself and the southsayers having interpreted these circum stances into an omen that its owner would be master of the world, he brought him up with particular care and broke him in himself as the horse would suffer no one else to mount him. A statue of this horse was afterwards erected by Crear's order before the temple of years Gentlary.

LXII He often rallied his troops, when they were giving were by his personal efforts stopping those who fled, keeping others in their ranks, and selzing them by their throat turned them towards the enemy although numbers were so terrified, that an exple-bearer 'thus stopped, made a thrust at him with

<sup>1</sup> The standard of the Roman legions was an eagle fixed on the head

the spear head, and another, upon a similar occasion, left the standard in his hand.

LXIII The following instances of his resolution are equally, and even more remarkable. After the battle of Phareilia, having cent has troops before him into Asia, as he was presing the struts of the Hellespont in a ferry-boat, he met with Lucius Cissius, one of the opposite party, with ten ships of war, and so far from enderconring to escape, he went alongs de less ship, and calling upon him to surrender, Cassius himbly give him his submission.

LXIV At Alexandri, in the attack of a bridge, being forced by a sudden silly of the enemy into a bout, and several others harrying in with him, he leaped into the sea, and said himself by swimming to the next ship, which lip at the distance of two hundred paces, holding up his left hand out of the water, for feir of wetting some papers which he held in it, and pulling his general's clock after him with his teeth, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy

I.XV He never valued a soldier for his moral conduct or his means, but for his courage only, and treated his troops with a mixture of severity and indulgence, for he did not always keep a strict hand over them, but only when the enemy was near. Then indeed he was so strict a disciplinarian, that he would give no notice of a march or a battle until the moment of action, in order that the troops might hold themselves in readiness for any sudden movement, and he would frequently draw them out of the camp without any necessity for it, especially in rainy weather, and upon holy-days. Sometimes, giving them orders not to lose sight of him, he would suddenly depart by day or by night, and lengthen the marches in order to tire them out, as they followed him at a distance

LXVI When at any time his troops were dispirited by reports of the great force of the enemy, he rallied their courage, not by denying the truth of what was said, or by diminishing the facts, but, on the contrary, by exaggerating every partiof a spear. It was silver, small in size, with expanded wings, and clutching a golden thunderbolt in its claw.

oular Accordingly when his troops were in great alarm at the expected arrival of king Jube, he called them together, and edd. I have to inform you that in a very fow days the king will be here, with ten legions, thirty thousand horse, a hundred thousand light-armed foot, and three hundred elephants. Let none of you, therefore, presume to make further enquiry or indulge in conjectures, but take my word for what I tell you which I have from undoubted intelligence other wise I shall put them abourd an old crary vessel, and leave them exposed to the mercy of the winds, to be transported to some other country

LXVII. He nother noticed all their transpressions, nor punished them according to strict rule. But for deserters and mutincers he made the most diligent enquiry and their punishment was most severe other delinqueneses he would connive at. Sometimes, after a great battle ending in victory he would grant them a relaxation from all kinds of duty and leave them to revel at pleasure being used to beast the In his speeches, he never addressed them by the title of Soldiers, but by the kinder phrase of Fellow-soldiers and kept them in such splendid order that their arms were ornamented with silver and gold, not merely for parade but to render the soldiers more resolute to save them in battle and f arful of loung them He loved his troops to such a degree that when he heard of the defeat of those under Titurius, he neither cut his hair nor shaved his beard until he had revenged it upon the enemy by which means he engaged their devoted affection, and raised their valour to the highest pitch

LXVIII Upon his entering ou the earli war the continuous of every legion offered each of them to maintain a horseman at his own expense and the whole army agreed to serve gratis, without either corn or pay those amongst them who were rich, charging themselves with the maintenance of the poor No one of them, during the whole course of the war, descrited to the enemy and many of those who were made prisoners, though they were offered their lives, npon ron dition of bearing arms signart him, refused to accept the terms. They endured want, and other hardships, not only

when they were besieged themselves, but when they besieged others, to such a degree, that Pompey, when blocked up in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, upon seeing a sort of bread made of an herb, which they hved upon, said, "I have to do with wild beasts," and ordered it immediately to be taken away, because, if his troops should see it, their spirit might be broken by perceiving the endurance and determined resolution of the enemy With what bravery they fought, one instance affords sufficient proof, which is, that after an unsuccessful engagement at Dyrrachium, they called for punishment, insomuch that their general found it more necessary to comfort than to punish them. In other battles, in different quarters, they defeated with ease immense armies of the enemy, although they were much inferior to them in number In short, one cohort of the sixth legion held out a fort against four legions belonging to Pompey, during several hours, being almost every one of them wounded by the vast number of arrows discharged against them, and of which there were found within the ramparts a hundred and thirty thousand This is no way surprising, when we consider the conduct of some individuals amongst them, such as that of Cassius Scava, a centurion, or Caius Acilius, a common soldier, not to speak of others Scæva, after having an eye struck out, being run through the thigh and the shoulder, and having his shield pierced in an hundred and twenty places, maintained obstinately the guard of the gate of a fort, with the command of which he was intrusted Acilius, in the sea-fight at Marseilles, having seized a ship of the enemy's with his right hand, and that being cut off, in imitation of that memorable instance of resolution in Cynægirus amongst the Greeks, boarded the enemy's ship, bearing down all before him with the boss of his shield

LXIX They never once mutined during all the ten years of the Gallie war, but were sometimes refractory in the course of the civil war. However, they always returned quickly to their duty, and that not through the indulgence, but in submission to the authority, of their general, for he never yielded to them when they were insubordinate, but constantly resisted their demands. He disbanded the whole ninth legion with ignominy at Placentia, although Pompey was still in arms, and would

not receive them again into his service, until they had not only made repeated and humble entroaties, but until the ringlesders in the mutiny were punished.

LXX. When the soldiers of the tenth legron at Rome demanded their discharge and rewards for their service, with violent threats and no small danger to the city although the war was then raging in Africa, be did not hesitate, contrary to the advice of his finends, to meet the legron and dissend it. But addressing them by the title of Quirites, instead of "Soldiers," he by this angle word so thoroughly brought them round and changed their determination that they immediately cried out, they were his soldiers, and followed him to Africa, although he had refused their service. He nevertheless punished the most mutinous among them with the loss of a third of their share in the plunder and the land destined for them.

IXXI In the service of his chents, while yet a young man he evinced great seel and fidelity. He defended the cause of a noble youth, Manatha, against king Hiempani so stremously that in a scuffle which took place upon the occasion, he seized by the beard the son of king Juba and upon Manatha a bong declared tributary to Hiempani, while the friends of the adverse party were violently earrying him off, he immediately rescued him by force, kept him concealed in his house a long time and when, at the expiration of his pretorship, he went to Spain he took him away in his latter in the midst of his letters bearing the fasces, and others who had come to attend and take leave of him.

LXXII He always treated his friends with such kindness and good nature that when Cains Oppins in travelling with him through a forest, was suddenly taken ill he resigned to him the only place there was to shelter them at night, and lay upon the ground in the open nor. When he had plu at himself at the head of affairs, he advanced some of his fathful adherents, though of mean extraction to the highest offices and when he was consured for this partiality he openly said. Had I been a saisted by robbers and out inroots in the defence of my honour, I should have made them the same recomprise.

LXXIII The resentment he entertained against any one was never so implicable that he did not very willingly renounce it when opportunity offered. Although Caius Memmius had published some extremely virulent speeches against him, and he had answered him with equal aerimony, yet he afterwards assisted him with his vote and interest, when he stood candidate for the consulship. When C Calvus, after publishing some scandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation by the intercession of friends, he wrote to him, of his own accord, the first letter. And when Valerius Catullus, who had, as he himself observed, fixed such a stain upon his character in his verses upon Mamurra as never could be obliterated, he begged his pardon, invited him to supper the same day, and continued to take up his lodging with his father occasionally, as he had been accustomed to do

LXXIV His temper was also naturally averse to severity in retaliation After he had captured the pirates, by whom he had been taken, having sworn that he would erueify them, he did so indeed, but he first ordered their throats to be cut i He could never bear the thought of doing any harm to Cornelius Phagitas, who had dogged him in the night when he was siek and a fugitive, with the design of earrying him to Sylla, and from whose hands he had escaped with some difficulty by giving him a bribe Philemon, his amanuensis, who had promised his enemies to poison him, he put to death without tor-When he was summoned as a witness against Publicus Clodius, his wife Pompeia's gallant, who was prosecuted for the profanation of religious ceremonies, he declared he knew nothing of the affair, although his mother Aurelia, and his sister Julia, gave the court an exact and full account of the erroumstances And being asked why then he had divorced his wife? "Because," he said, "my family should not only be free from guilt, but even from the suspicion of it"

LXXV Both in his administration and his conduct towards the vanquished party in the civil war, he showed a wonderful moderation and clemency. For while Pompey declared that he would consider those as enemies who did not take arms in defence of the republic, he desired it to be understood, that he

I To save them from the torture of a lingering death.

should regard those who remained neuter as his friends. With regard to all those to whom he had, on Pompey's recommend ation, given any command in the army he left them at perfect liberty to go over to him, if they pleased. When some proposals were made at Herda' for a surrender which gave rise to a free communication between the two camps, and Afranias and Petreius, upon a sudden change of resolution, had put to the sword all Caser's men who were found in the camp he scorned to imitate the base treschery which they had practised against himself. On the field of Pharsalia, he called out to the soldiers "to spore their follow-estizons and afterwards gave permission to every man in his army to save an enemy None of them, so far as appears, lost their lives but in buttle, excepting only Afranius, Faustus, and young Lucius Comer and it is thought that even they were put to death without his con rent. Afrange and Fanstus had borne arms against him ofter obtaining their pardon and Lucius Casar had not only in the most cruel manner destroyed with fire and sword his freed men and slaves, but cut to pieces the wild bensts which he had prepared for the entertainment of the people And finally a little before his death, he permitted all whom he had not before pardoned, to return into Italy and to bear offices both civil and military He even replaced the statues of Sylla and Pompey which had been thrown down by the populace. And after this, whatever was devised or uttered, he chose rather to check than to punish it. Accordingly having detected certain conspiracies and nocturnal assemblies, he went no farther than to intimate by a proclamation that he knew of them and as to those who indulged themselves in the liberty of reflecting soverely upon him, he only warned them m a public speech not to persist in their offence. He bore with great modern tion a virulent libel written against him by Aulus Cacanna, and the abusive lampoons of Pitholatis most highly reflecting on his reputation.

LXXVI His other words and actions, however so far outweigh all his good qualities that it is thought he abused his power and was justly cut off. For he not only obtained ex tenure honours, such as the consulahip overy year the dietatorship for life and the censorship but also the title of err

<sup>1</sup> Now Lettle, la Catalonia.

peror,1 and the surname of Father of his country,2 besides having his statue amongst the kings,3 and a lofty couch in the theatre He even suffered some honours to be decreed to him, which were unbefitting the most exalted of mankind, such as a gilded chair of state in the senate-house and on his tribunal, a consecrated chariot, and banners in the Circensian procession, temples, altars, statues among the gods, a bed of state in the temples, a priest, and a college of priests dedicated to himself. like those of Pan, and that one of the months should be called by his name There were, indeed, no honours which he did not either assume himself, or grant to others, at his will and pleasure In his third and fourth consulship, he used only the title of the office, being content with the power of dictator, which was conferred upon him with the consulship, and in both years he substituted other consuls in his room, during the three last months, so that in the intervals he held no assemblies of the people, for the election of magistrates, excepting only tribunes and ediles of the people, and appointed officers, under the name of præfects, instead of the prætors, to administer the affairs of the city during his absence The office of consul having become vacant, by the sudden death of one of the consuls the day before the calends of January Tthe 1st Jan ], he conferred it on a person who requested it of him, for a few hours Assuming the same licence, and regardless of the customs of his country, he appointed magistrates to hold their offices for terms of years He granted the insignia of the consular dignity to ten persons of prætoman rank He admitted into the senate some men who had been made free of the city, and even natives of Gaul, who were semi-barbarians

<sup>2</sup> Cicero was the first who received the honour of being called "Pater

The title of emperor was not new in Roman history, 1 It was sometimes given by the acclamations of the soldiers to those who commanded them 2 It was synonymous with conqueror, and the troops hailed him by that title after a victory In both these cases it was merely titlar, and not permanent, and was generally written after the proper name, as Cicero imperator, Lentulo imperatore 3 It assumed a permanent and royal character first in the person of Julius Cæsar, and was then generally prefixed to the emperor's name in inscriptions, as imp cæsar.

Statues were placed in the Capitol of each of the seven kings of Rome, to which an eighth was added in honour of Brutus, who expelled the last.

The statue of Julius Cæsar was afterwards raised near them.

Ho likewise appointed to the management of the mint, and the public revenue of the state, some servants of his own household and entrusted the command of three legions, which he left at Alexandra, to an old catamite of his, the son of his freed-man Rufinus.

IXXVII. He was guilty of the same extravagance in the language he publicly used, as Titus Amplus informs us co-cording to whom he said. The republic is nothing but a name, without substance or reality Sylla was an ignorant follow to abdicate the detetorship. Hen ought to consider what is becoming when they talk with me, and look upon what I say as a law To such a pitch of arrogance did be proceed, that when a sootheaver announced to him the un favourable owner that the entrails of a rictim offered for sacrifice were without a heart, he said. The entrails will be more favourable when I please and it ought not to be regarded as a prodigy that a beast should be found wanting a heart.

LXXVIII. But what brought upon him the greatest edium, and was thought an unpardonable insult, was his receiving the whole body of the conscript fathers sitting, before the temple of Venus Genitrix, when they walted upon him with a number of decrees, conferring on him the highest digni tice. Some say that, on his attempting to rise, he was held down by Cornelius Balbus others, that he did not ettempt to ries at all, but frowned on Causa Trebatins, who suggested to him that he should stand up to receive the senate This behaviour appeared the more intolerable in him because, when one of the tribunes of the people Pontins Aquila, would not rise up to him as he persed by the tribunes seat during his triumph, he was so much offended, that he cried out, then, you tribane Aquila, ourt me from the government. for some days afterwards, he never promised a favour to any person, without this proviso, if Pontus Aquila will give me

LXXIX. To this extraordinary mark of contempt for the seast be added another affirms still more outrageous. For shen, after the ascred rates of the Latin festival he was returning home amids the immederate and unusual neclamates.

bitable omens A few months before, when the colonists settled at Capua, by virtue of the Julian law, were demolishing some old sepulchres, in building country-houses, and were the more eager at the work, because they discovered certain vessels of antique workmanship, a tablet of brass was found in a tomb. in which Capys, the founder of Capua, was said to have been buried, with an inscription in the Greek language to this effect "Whenever the bones of Capys come to be discovered, a descendant of Iulus will be slain by the hands of his kinsmen, and his death revenged by fearful disasters throughout Italy" Lest any person should regard this anecdote as a fabulous or silly invention, itwas circulated upon the authority of Caius Balbus, an intimate friend of Cæsar's A few days likewise before his death, he was informed that the horses, which, upon his crossing the Rubicon, he had consecrated, and turned loose to graze without a keeper, abstained entirely from eating, and shed floods of tears The soothsayer Spurinna, observing certain ominous appearances in a sacrifice which he was offering, advised him to beware of some danger, which threatened to befall him before the ides of March were past. The day before the ides, birds of various kinds from a neighbouring grove, pursuing a wren which flew into Pompey's senatehouse, with a sprig of laurel in its beak, tore it in pieces Also, in the night on which the day of his murder dawned, he dreamt at one time that he was soaring above the clouds, and, at another, that he had joined hands with Jupiter His wife Calpurnia fancied in her sleep that the pediment of the house was falling down, and her husband stabbed on her bosom, immediately upon which the chamber doors flew open account of these omens, as well as his infirm health, he was in some doubt whether he should not remain at home, and defer to some other opportunity the business which he intended to propose to the senate, but Decimus Brutus advising him not to disappoint the senators, who were numerously assembled, and waited his coming, he was prevailed upon to go, and ac-

This senate-house stood in that part of the Campus Martius which is now the Campo di Fiore, and was attached by Pompey, "spoliis Orientis Onustus," to the magnificent theatre, which he built A.v. c 698, in his second consulship. His statue, at the foot of which Caesar fell, as Plutarch tells us, was placed in it. We shall find that Augustus caused it to be removed.

cordingly set forward about the fifth hour. In his way some person having thrust into his hand a paper warning him against the plot, he mixed it with some other documents which he held in his left hand, intending to read it at leisure. Victim after vectim was akin, without any favourable appearances in the entrails but still, disregarding all omens, he entered the senate-house, laughing at Spurinian as a falso prophet, because the idea of March were come, without any mischief having befallen him. To which the scothsnyer replied, They are come, indeed, but not past.

LXXXII When he had taken his seat, the consultators

stood round him under colour of paying their compliments and immediately Tullius Clinber who had engaged to commence the assault, advancing nearer than the rest, as if he had some favour to request, Cozar made signs that he should defer his petition to some other time. Tullius immediately sourced him by the togs, on both shoulders; at which Cozar crying out, Violence is meant!" one of the Cassii wounded him a little below the threat. Cozar scized him by the arm, and ran it through with his style; and endeavouring to rush forward was stopped by smother wound. Finding himself now attacked on all hands with naked ponlards, he wrapped the togs about his head, and at the same moment drew the shirt round his legs with his left hand, that he might fall more decently with the lower part of his body covered. He was stabbed with three and twenty wounds, uttering a groun only but no cry at the first wound; although some suthers relate, that when Marcus Brutus fell upon him he excelanted, Whatl art thou, too one of them? Then, my son!" The whole assembly in-

<sup>2</sup> It was customery among the ancients, in great extremities to shroud the face, in order to conceal any symptoms of horror or slarm which the countenance might express. The slirt of the fape was drawn round the lewer extremities, that there might be no exposure in falling, as the Romans, at this park d, wors no overeing for the high and they.

Canar's dring spottrophe to Brutus is represented in all the editions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The etylor or prophene, was an iron pen, broad at one end, with a sharp point at the other med for writing upon waren tables, the lears or bark of trees, plates of bress, or lead, de. For writing upon paper or parkment, the Romans employed a reed, sharpened and spit in the point like our pens, called calescus, or sons, or resus. This they dipped in the black flagor emitted by the centils fish, which served for in.

stantly dispersing, he lay for some time after he expired, until three of his slaves laid the body on a litter, and carried it home, with one arm hanging down over the side. Among so many wounds, there was none that was mortal, in the opinion of the surgeon Antastius, except the second, which he received in the breast. The conspirators meant to drag his body into the Tiber as soon as they had killed him, to confiscate his estate, and rescind all his enactments, but they were deterred by fear of Mark Antony, and Lepidus, Cæsar's master of the horse, and abandoned their intentions

LXXXIII At the instance of Lucius Piso, his father-in-

law, his will was opened and read in Mark Antony's house He had made it on the ides [13th] of the preceding September, at his Lavican villa, and committed it to the custody of the chief of the Vestal Virgins Quintus Tubero informs us, that in all the wills he had signed, from the time of his first consulship to the breaking out of the civil war, Cheius Pompey was appointed his heir, and that this had been publicly notified to the army But in his last will, he named three heirs, the grandsons of his sisters, namely, Caius Octavius for three fourths of his estate, and Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius for the remain-Other heirs [in remainder] were named at the close of the will, in which he also adopted Caius Octavius, who was to assume his name, into his family, and nominated most of those who were concerned in his death among the guardians of his son, if he should have any, as well as Decimus Brutus of Suctonius as uttered in Greek, but with some variations as here translated, are Kal σὰ ἐι ἐκεινων, και σὰ τεκνον The Salmasian manuscript omits the latter clause Some commentators suppose that the words "my son," were not merely expressive of the difference of age, or former familiarity between them, but an avowal that Brutus was the fruit of the connection between Julius and Servilia, mentioned before [see p 33] But it appears very improbable that Cæsar, who had never before acknowledged Brutus to be his son, should make so unnecessary an avowal, at the moment of his death Exclusively of this objection, the apostrophe seems too verbose, both for the suddenness and urgency of the occasion But this is not all Can we suppose that Cæsar, though a perfect master of Greek, would at such a time have expressed himself in that language. rather than in Latin, his familiar tongue, and in which he spoke with peculiar elegance? Upon the whole, the probability is, that the words nttered by Čæsar were, Et tu Brute ' which, while equally expressive of astonishment with the other version, and even of tenderness, are both more natural, and more curphatic

amongst his hears of the second order. He bequeathed to the Roman people his gardens near the Tiber, and three hundred sestences each man-

IAXXIV Notice of his funeral having been solemnly proclaimed, a pilo was erected in the Campus Martius, near the tomb of his danghter Julia and before the Rostin was placed a gilded tabernacle on the model of the temple of Venus Go nitrix ' within which was an ivery bed covered with purple and cloth of gold. At the head was a trophy with the Julood stained] robe in which he was slaun. It being considered that the whole day would not suffice for enrying the funeral oblations in solemn procession before the corpse directions were given for every one without regard to order to carry them from the city into the Campus Martius, by what way they pleased To raise pity and indignation for his murder in the plays acted at the funeral, a passage was sung from Pacuvius's tragedy entitled. The Trial for Arms

> That ever J unhappy man, should save Wretebes, who thus have brought me to the grave!

And some lines also from Attilius s tragedy of Electra the same effect. Instead of a funeral panegyrie the consul An tony ordered a herald to proclaim to the people the decree of the senate in which they had bestowed upon him all honours di vine and human with the cath by which they had engaged themselves for the defence of his person and to these he added only a few words of his own. The magistrates and others who had formerly filled the highest offices, carried the bier from the Rostra into the Forum While some proposed that the body should be burnt in the sanctuary of the temple of Junter Capitolinus, and others in Pompey's senate-house on a sudden, two men, with swords by their sides, and spears in their hands, set fire to the hier with lighted torches. throng around immediately heaped upon it dry faggot the tribunals and benches of the adjoining courts and whatever else came to hand. Then the musicians and players stripped off the dresses they were on the present occasion taken from the wardrobe of his trium; hat spectacles rent them, and threw them into the flames. The legionaries, also of his

<sup>1</sup> Men me serraise at essent qui me perderect ?

veteran bands, cast in their armour, which they had put on in honour of his funeral. Most of the ladies did the same by their ornaments, with the bulke, and mantles of their children. In this public mourning there joined a multitude of foreigners, expressing their sorrow according to the fashion of their respective countries, but especially the Jews, who for several nights together frequented the spot where the body was burnt

LXXXV The populace ran from the funeral, with torches in their hands, to the houses of Brutus and Cassius, and were repelled with difficulty Going in quest of Cornelius Cinna, who had in a speech, the day before, reflected severely upon Cæsar, and mistaking for him Helvius Cinna, who happened to fall into their hands, they murdered the latter, and carried his head about the city on the point of a spear. They afterwards erected in the Forum a column of Numidian marble, formed of one stone nearly twenty feet high, and inscribed upon it these words, To the Father of his Country. At this column they continued for a long time to offer sacrifices, make vows, and decide controversies, in which they swore by Cæsar.

LXXXVI Some of Cæsar's friends entertained a suspicion, that he neither desired nor cared to live any longer, on account of his declining health, and for that reason slighted all the omens of religion, and the warnings of his friends. Others are of opinion, that thinking himself secure in the late decree of the senate, and their oaths, he dismissed his Spanish guards who attended him with drawn swords. Others again suppose, that he chose rather to face at once the dangers which threatened him on all sides, than to be for ever on the watch against them. Some tell us that he used to say, the commonwealth was more interested in the safety of his person than himself: for that he had for some time been satisfied with power and glory, but that the commonwealth, if any thing should befall him, would have no rest, and, involved in another civil war, would be in a worse state than before

<sup>2</sup> Josephus frequently mentions the benefits conferred on his countrymen by Julius Cæsar Antiq Jud xiv 14, 15, 16

The Bulla, generally made of gold, was a hollow globe, which boys wore upon their breast, pendant from a string or ribbon put round the neck. The sons of freedmen and poor citizens used globes of leather

LXXXVII. This, however was generally admitted that his death was in many respects such as he would have chosen. For upon reading the account delivered by Venophon how Gyrus in his last filners gave instructions respecting his funeral, Cesser deprecated a lingering death, and wished that his own might be sudden and speedy. And the day before he died, the conversation at supper in the house of Marcus Lopidus, turning upon what was the most eligible way of dying, be gure his opinion in favour of a death that is sudden and un expected.

LXXVIII. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age and was ranked amongst the Gods, not only by a formal decree but in the behief of the rulgar. For during the first games which Augustus, his heir consecrated to his memory a comet blazed for seven days together rising always about eleven o clock, and it was supposed to be the soul of Carsar new received into heaven: for which reason likewise he is represented on his status with a star on his brow. The cenatio-house in which he was slain was ordered to be shut up, and a decree made that the ides of March should be called particulal, and the senate should never more assemble on that day

LXXXIX. Searcely any of those who were accessary to his marder survived him more than three years, or died a na tural death.<sup>3</sup> They were all condemned by the senate some were taken off by one accident, some by another Part of them persahed at sea, others fell in battle and some slow themselves with the same pontard with which they had stabbed Costar.<sup>3</sup>

Applian informs us that it was burnt by the people in their fury B c. si. p. 531

Sectorius particularly refers to the conspirators, who periahed at the builte of Philippi, or in the three years which interrened. The survivors were included in the reconciliation of Augustin, Antony and Pompey A.U.G. 715

<sup>8</sup> Sectories alledes to Brutes and Cassins, of whom this is related by Pintarch and Dio.

The termination of the civil war between Casar and Pompey forms a new epoch in the Roman History, at which a Republic, which had subsisted with unrivalled glory during a period of about four hundred and sixty years, relapsed into a state of despotism, whence it never more could emerge. So sudden a transition from prosperity to the ruin of public freedom, without the intervention of any foreign enemy, excites a reasonable conjecture, that the constitution in which it could take place, however rigorous in appearance, must have lost that soundness of political health which had enabled it to endure through so many ages A short view of its preceding state, and of that in which it was at the time of the revolution now mentioned, will best ascertain

the foundation of such a conjecture

Though the Romans, upon the expulsion of Tarquin, made an essential change in the political form of the state, they did not carry their detestation of regal authority so far as to abolish the religious institutions of Numa Pompilius, the second of their kings, according to which, the priesthood, with all the influence annexed to that order, was placed in the hands of the aristocracy By this wise policy a restraint was put upon the fickleness and violence of the people in matters of government, and a decided superiority given to the Senate both in the deliberative and executive parts of administration This advantage was afterwards indeed diminished by the creation of Tribunes of the people, a set of men whose ambition often embroiled the Republic in civil dissensions, and who at last abused their authority to such a degiec, that they became instruments of aggrandizement to any leading men in the state who could purchase their friendship In general, however, the majority of the Tribunes being actuated by views which comprehended the interests of the multitude, rather than those of individuals, they did not so much endanger the liberty, as they interrupted the tranquility, of the public; and when the occasional commotions subsided, there remained no permanent ground for the establishment of personal usurpation.

In every government, an object of the last importance to the peace and welfare of society is the morals of the people, and in proportion as a community is enlarged by propagation, or the accession of a multitude of new members, a more strict attention is requisite to guard against that dissolution of manners to which a crowded and extensive capital has a natural tendency. Of this

<sup>1</sup> For observations on Dr Thomson's Essays appended to Suctonius's History of Julius Cæsar, and the succeeding Emperors, see the Preface to this volume.

the Romans became scallide in the growing state of the Republie. In the year of the City 312, two magnitudes were first
created for taking an account of the number of the people and
the value of their catales; and soon after they were invested
with the antherity not only of inspecting the morals of induviduals but of inflicting public censure for any licenticousness
of conduct or valoation of decency. Thus both the civil and
religious institutions concurred to restrain the people within the
bounds of good order and obedience to the laws; at the same
time that the fregal life of the ancient Bomans proved a strong
security against those vices which operate most effectually towards asping the foundations of a state

But in the time of Julius Crear the barners of pullie liberty were become too weak to restrain the audacious efforts of ambitious and desperate men. The reneration for the constitution, usually a powerful check to treasonable designs had been lately related by the usurpations of Marus and Sylla. The saintary terrors of religion no longer predominated over the consecuces of men. The shame of public censure was estinguished in general depravity. An eminent historiam who lived at that time informs us that renality universally prevailed amongst the Romans; and a writer who flourished soon after observes, that luxury and dissipation had encumbered almost all so much with debt, that they beheld with a degree of complacency the prospect

of civil war and confusion

The extreme degree of profigures at which the Romans were now arrived is in nothing more ordent, than that this age gave birth to the most horrible complines which course in the annual of human kind, viz. that of Catilline. This was not the project of a few despents and abandoned individuals, but of a number of mon of the most illustrous rank in the state; and it appears beyond doubt, that Julius Crear was accessary to the design, which was no less than to extruste the Senate divide amongst themselves both the public and private treasures, and as Romo on fire. The causes which prompted to this tremmedous project, it is generally admitted, were luxury prodigality irreligion a total corruption of manners, and above all, as the immediate cause, the presume necessity in which the conspirators were in volved by their extreme dissipation.

The enormous debt in which Cessar himself was early involved, countonances an opinion that his anxiety to procure the province of Gaul proceeded chiefly from this cause. But during nine years in which he held that province, he acquired such raches as must have rendered him, without competition, the most opinion person in the state. If nothing more therefore than a

splendid establishment had been the object of his pursuit, he had attained to the summit of his wishes. But when we find him persevering in a plan of aggrandizement beyond this period of his fortunes, we can ascribe his conduct to no other motive than that of outrageous ambition He projected the building of a new Forum at Rome, for the ground only of which he was to pay 800,000 pounds, he raised legions in Gaul at his own charges he promised such entertainments to the people as had never been known at Rome from the foundation of the city these circumstances evince some latent design of procuring such a popularity as might give him an uncontrolled influence in the management of public affairs Pompey, we are told, was wont to say, that Cesar not being able, with all his riches, to fulfil the promises which he had made, wished to throw everything into There may have been some foundation for this remark but the opinion of Ciccro is more probable, that Cæsar's mind was seduced with the temptations of chimerical glory is observable that neither Cicero nor Pompey intimates any suspicion that Casar was apprehensive of being impeached for his conduct, had he returned to Rome in a private station that there was reason for such an apprehension, the positive declaration of L Domitius leaves little room to doubt especially when we consider the number of enemies that Casar had in the Senate, and the coolness of his former friend Pompey ever after the death of Julia The proposed impeachment was founded upon a notorious charge of prosecuting measures destructive of the interests of the commonwealth, and tending ultimately to an object incompatible with public freedom. Indeed, considering the extreme corruption which prevailed amongst the Romans at this time, it is more than probable that Cæsar would have been acquitted of the charge, but at such an expense as must have stripped him of all his riches, and placed him again in a situation ready to attempt a disturbance of the public tranquillity For it is said, that he purchased the friendship of Curio, at the commencement of the civil war, with a bribe little short of half a million sterling

Whatever Cæsar's private motive may have been for taking arms against his country, he embarked in an enterprise of a nature the most dangerous—and had Pompey conducted himself in any degree suitable to the reputation which he had formerly acquired, the contest would in all probability—have terminated in favour of public freedom—But by dilatory measures in the beginning, by imprudently withdrawing his army from Italy into a distant province, and by not pursuing the advantage he had gained by the vigorous repulse of Cæsar's troops in their attack upon his camp, this commander lost every opportunity of extin-

guishing a war which was to determine the fate and even he existence of the Republic. It was accordingly determined on the plains of Pharsalia, where Casar obtained a victory which was not more decisive than unexpected. He was now no longer amenable either to the tribunal of the Senate or the power of the laws but trumphed at once over his enemies and the con

stitution of his country

It is to the honour of Cour that when he had obtained the supreme power he exercised it with a degree of moderation beyoud what was generally expected by those who had fought on the side of the Republic. Of his private life either before or after this period, little is transmitted in history Henceforth, however, he seems to have lived chiefly at Rome near which he had a small villa, upon an eminence, commanding a beautiful prospect. His time was almost entirely occupied with public affairs in the management of which, though he employed many agents he appears to have had none in the character of actual minister He was in general easy of access; but Cicero, in a letter to a friend, complains of having been treated with the indignity of waiting a considerable time amongst a crowd in an antichamber before he could have an audience. The elevation of Cersar placed him not above discharging reciprocally the social daties in the intercourse of life. He returned the visits of those who waited upon him, and would sup at their houses. At table and in the use of wine, he was habitually temperate. Upon the whole, he added nothing to his own happiness by all the dangers, the fatigues, and the perpetual anxiety which he had incurred in the pursuit of unlimited power His health was greatly impaired : his former cheerfulness of temper though not his magnanimity appears to have forsaken him; and we behold in his fate a memorable example of illustrious talents rendered, by inordinate ambition, destructive to himself and irretrievably pernicious to his country

From beholding the ruln of the Roman Republic, after intestine divinous, and the distractions of civil war it will afford some reliaf to take a view of the progress of literature which flourshed

even during those calamities

The commencement of literature in Rome is to be dated from the reduction of the Greelan States, when the conquerors imported into their own country the valuable productions of the Greek Isnguage and the first essay of Roman genius was in dramatic com position. Livius Andronsous, who flourished about 210 years before the Chrutian era, formed the Fescennine verses into a kind of regular drama, upon the model of the Greeks He was followed some time after by Ennius, who, besides dramatic and other com-

positions, wrote the annals of the Roman Republic in heroic verse His style, like that of Andronicus, was rough and unpolished, in conformity to the language of those times, but for grandeur of sentiment and energy of expression, he was admired by the greatest poets in the subsequent ages. Other writers of distinguished reputation in the dramatic department were Navius. Pacuvius, Plautus, Afranius, Cæcilius, Terence, Accius, &c Accius and Pacuvius are mentioned by Quintilian as writers of extraordinary merit Of twenty-five comedies written by Plautus, the number transmitted to posterity is nineteen, and of a hundred and eight which Terence is said to have translated from Menander, there now remain only six Excepting a few inconsiderable fragments, the writings of all the other authors have perished The early period of Roman literature was distinguished for the introduction of satire by Lucilius, an author celebrated for writing with remarkable ease, but whose compositions, in the opinion of Horace, though Quintilian thinks otherwise, were debased with a mixture of feculency Whatever may have been their merit, they also have perished, with the works of a number of orators, who adorned the advancing state of letters in the Roman Republic It is observable, that during this whole period, of near two centuries and a half, there appeared not one historian of eminence sufficient to preserve his name from oblivion

Julius Cæsar himself is one of the most eminent writers of the age in which he lived. His commentaries on the Gallic and Civil Wars are written with a purity, precision, and perspicuity, which command approbation. They are elegant without affectation, and beautiful without ornament. Of the two books which he composed on Analogy, and those under the title of Anti Cato, scarcely any fragment is preserved, but we may be assured of the justness of the observations on language, which were made by an author so much distinguished by the excellence of his own compositions. His poem entitled The Journey, which was pro-

bably an entertaining narrative, is likewise totally lost

The most illustrious prose writer of this or any other age is M Tullius Cicero, and as his life is copiously related in biographical works, it will be sufficient to mention his writings. From his earliest years, he apphed himself with unremitting assiduity to the cultivation of literature, and, whilst he was yet a boy, wrote a poem, called Glaucus Pontius, which was extant in Plutarch's time. Amongst his juvenile productions was a translation into Latin verse, of Aratus on the Phænomena of the Heavens, of which many fragments are still extant. He also published a poem of the heroic kind, in honour of his countryman C Marius, who was born at Arpinum, the birth-place of Cicero.

This production was greatly admired by Attieus; and old Scovola was so much pleased with it, that in an epigram written on the subject, he declares that it would live as long as the Roman name and learning subsisted From a little specimen which remains of it, describing a memorable omen given to Marius from an oak at Arpinum, there is reason to believe that his poetical genius was scarcely inferior to his oratorical, had it been cultivated with equal industry. He published another poem called Limon, of which Donatus has preserved four lines in the life of Terence in praise of the elegance and purity of that poets He composed in the Greek language and in the style and manner of Isocrates a Commentary or Memours of the Transactions of his Consulship This he sent to Atticus with e desire, if he approved it to publish it in Athens and the enter of Groece He sent a copy of it likewise to Posidonius of libodes, and requested of him to undertake the same subject in a more elevant and masterly manner. But the latter returned for answer that. instead of being encouraged to write by the perusal of his tract,

he was quito detorred from attempting it.

Upon the plan of those Memoirs, he afterwards composed a
Latin poem in three books, in which he carried down the history to the end of his exile but did not publish it for several years from motivos of delicacy The three books were severally inscribed to the three Muses; but of this work there now remain only a few fragments, scattered in different parts of his other writings He published, about the same time a collection of the principal speeches which he had made in his consulship, under the title of his Consular Orstrons. They consisted origi nally of twelve; but four are entirely lost, and some of the rest are imperfect. He now published also in Latin verse a transla tion of the Prognostics of Aratus, of which work no more than two or three small fragments now remain. A few years after he put the last hand to his Dislogues upon the Character and Idea of the perfect Orator This admirable work remains entire; a monument both of the astonishing industry and transcendent abilities of its author. At his Cuman villa, he next began a Treatise on Politics, or on the best State of a City and the Duties of a Citizen. He calls it a great and a laborrous work yet worthy of his pains, if he could succeed in it. This likewise was written in the form of a dialogue, in which the speakers were Scribo Ledius, Philus, Manillus, and other great persons in the former times of the Republic. It was comprised in six books and survived him for several ages, though it is now unfortunately lost. From the fragments which remain, it appears to have been a masterly production, in which all the important questions in solities and morality were discussed with elegance and accuracy

Amidst all the anxiety for the interests of the Republic, which occupied the thoughts of this celebrated personage, he yet found lessure to write several philosophical tracts, which still subsist, to the gratification of the literary world He composed a treatise on the Nature of the Gods, in three books, containing a comprehensive view of religion, faith, oaths, ecremonies, &c elucidating this important subject, he not only delivers the opinions of all the philosophers who had written anything concerning it, but weighs and compares attentively all the arguments with each other, forming upon the whole such a rational and perfect system of natural religion, as never before was presented to the consideration of mankind, and approaching nearly to re-He now likewise composed in two books, a discourse on Divination, in which he discusses at large all the arguments that may be advanced for and against the actual existence of such a species of knowledge Like the preceding works, it is written in the form of dialogue, and in which the chief speaker is Ludius The same period gave birth to his treatise on Old Age, called Cato Major, and to that on Friendship, written also in dialogue, and in which the chief speaker is This book, considered merely as an essay, is one of the most cutertaining productions of ancient times, but, beheld as a picture drawn from life, exhibiting the real characters and sentiments of men of the first distinction for virtue and wisdom in the Roman Republic, it becomes doubly interesting to every reader of observation and taste Cicero now also wrote his discourse on Fate, which was the subject of a conversation with Hirtius, in his villa near Putcoli, and he executed about the same time a translation of Plato's celebrated Dialogue, called Timæus, on the nature and origin of the universe He was employing himself also on a history of his own times, or rather of his own conduct, full of free and severe reflections on those who had abused their power to the oppression of the Republic. Dion Cassius says, that he delivered this book sealed up to his son, with strict orders not to read or publish it till after his death, but from this time he never saw his son, and it is probable that he left the work unfinished Afterwards, however, some copies of it were circulated, from which his commentator, Asconius, has quoted several particulars

During a voyage which he undertook to Sicily, he wrote his treatise on Topics, or the Art of finding Arguments on any Question. This was an abstract from Aristotle's treatise on the same subject, and though he had neither Aristotle nor any other book to, assist him, he drew it up from his memory, and finished it as he sailed along the coast of Calabria. The last

work composed by Gicero appears to have been his Offices, written for the use of his son to whom it is addressed. This treatise contains a system of moral conduct, founded upon the noblest principles of human action, and recommended by argu

ments drawn from the purest sources of philosophy

Such are the literary productions of this extraordinary man whose comprehensive understanding enabled him to conduct with superior ability the most abstruce disquisitions into moral and metaphysical science. Born in an age posterior to Socrates and Plato, he could not anticipate the principles inculcated by those divine philosophers, but he is justly entitled to the praise not only of having prosecuted with unerring judgment the steps which they trod before him, but of earrying his researches to greater extent into the most difficult regions of philosophy This too he had the merit to perform, neither in the station of a private citizen, nor in the leasure of academic retirement, but in the bustle of public life, amidst the almost constant exertions of the bar, the employment of the magistrate, the duty of the senator and the incement cares of the statesman; through a period likewise chequered with domestic afflictions and fatal commotions in the Republic. As a philosopher his mind appears to have been clear capacions, penetrating and insatiable of knowledge. As a writer he was endowed with every talent that could exptivate either the judgment or taste. His rescarches were continually em ployed on subjects of the greatest utility to mankind, and those often such as extended beyond the narrow bounds of temporal existence. The being of a God, the immortality of the soul, a future state of rewards and punishments, and the eternal distinction of good and evil; these were in general the great objects of his philosophical enquiries, and he has placed them in a more convincing point of view than they ever were before exhibited to the pagen world. The variety and force of the arguments which he advances, the splendour of his diction, and the seal with which he endeavours to excite the love and admiration of virtue, all conspire to place his character as a philosophical writer including likewise his incomparable eloquence, on the summit of human celebrity

The form of dialogue, so much used by Gierro he doubtless adopted in imitation of Plato, who probably took the hart of it from the colloquial method of instruction practised by Socrates. In the early stage of philosophical enquiry this mode of composition was well adapted, if not to the discovery at least to the condimation of moral truth; especially as the practice was then not uncommon, for speculative men to converse together on important subjects, for mutual information. In treating of any subject respecting which the different spects of philosophers differed

from each other in point of sentiment, no kind of composition could be more happily suited than dialogue, as it gave alternately full scope to the arguments of the various dispitants. It required, however, that the writer should exert his understanding with equal impartiality and acuteness on the different sides of the question, as otherwise he might betray a cause under the appearance of defending it. In all the dialogues of Cicero, he manages the arguments of the several disputants in a manner not only the most fair and interesting, but also such as leads to

the most probable and rational conclusion

After enumerating the various tracts composed and published by Cicero, we have now to mention his Letters, which, though not written for publication, deserve to be ranked among the most interesting remains of Roman literature The number of such as are addressed to different correspondents is considerable, but those to Attieus alone, his confidential friend, amount to upwards of four hundred, among which are many of great length are all written in the genuine spirit of the most approved epistolary composition, uniting familiarity with elevation, and ease with elegance. They display in a beautiful light the author's character in the social relations of life, as a warm friend, a zealous patron, a tender husband, an affectionate brother, an indulgent father, and a kind master Beholding them in a more extensive view, they exhibit an ardent love of liberty and the constitution of his country they discover a mind strongly actuated with the principles of virtue and reason, and while they abound in sentiments the most judicious and philosophical, they are occasionally blended with the charms of wit, and agreeable effusions of pleasantry What is likewise no small addition to their merit, they contain much interesting description of private life, with a variety of information relative to public transactions and characters of that age It appears from Cicero's correspondence, that there was at that time such a number of illustrious Romans, as never before existed in any one period of the Republic therefore, the authority of men the most respectable for virtue, rank, and abilities, could have availed to overawe the first attempts at a violation of public liberty, it must have been at this period. for the dignity of the Roman senate was now in the zenith of its

Cicero has been accused of excessive vanity, and of arrogating to himself an invidious superiority, from his extraordinary talents but whoever peruses his letters to Atticus, must readily acknowledge, that this imputation appears to be destitute of truth. In those excellent productions, though he adduces the strongest arguments for and against any object of consideration, that the

most penetrating understanding can suggest, weighs them with each other and draws from them the most rational conclusions he yet discovers such a diffidence in his own opinion that he resigns himself implicitly to the judgment and direction of his friend; a modesty not very compatible with the disposition of the arrogant, who are commonly tenacious of their own opinion particularly in what relates to any declaion of the understanding

It is difficult to say whether Ofeero appears in his letters more great or amiable: but that he was regarded by his contemporaries in both these lights, and that too in the highest degree is sufficiently evident. We may thence infer that the great poets in the subsequent ago must have done violence to their own liberality and discernment, when, in compliment to Augustus, whose sensibility would have been wounded by the praises of Oicero and even by the mention of his name, they have so industriously avoided the subject as not to afford the most distant intimation that this immortal orator and philosopher had ever existed. Lavy however there is reason to think did some justice to his memory; but it was not until the race of the Cesars had become extinct, that he received the free and unanimous applause of unpartial posterity Such was the admiration which Quintilian en tertained of his writings, that he considered the erroumstance or being delighted with them, as an indubitable proof of judgment and taste in literature. Ille se profeciere sesat cue Cicero valde placebit.1

In this period is likewise to be placed M. Terentius Varro, the celebrated Roman grammarian, and the Nestor of ancient learn The first mention made of him to, that he was lieutenant to Pompey in his piratical wars, and obtained in that service a nava. crown. In the civil wars he joined the side of the Republic, and was taken by Cosar; by whom he was likewise proscribed, but obtained a remission of the sentence Of all the ancients, he has acquired the greatest fame for his extensive erudition; and we may add, that he displayed the same industry in communicating as he had done in collecting it. His works originally amounted to no less than five hundred volumes, which have all perished. except a treatise De League Latina and one De Re Rustica Of the former of these, which is addressed to Gioero three books at the beginning are also lost. It appears from the introduction of the fourth book, that they all related to etymology The first contained such observations as might be made against it; the second, such as might be made in its favour; and the third, obser vations upon it. He next proceeds to investigate the origin or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He who has a devoted admiration of Gleero, may be sure that he has made no slight proficiency himself.

Latin words In the fourth book, he traces those which relate to place, in the fifth, those connected with the idea of time, and in the sixth, the origin of both these classes, as they appear in the writings of the poets The seventh book is employed on declension, in which the author enters upon a minute and exten sive enquiry, comprehending a variety of acute and profound observations on the formation of Latin nouns, and their respective natural declinations from the nominative case In the eighth, he examines the nature and limits of usage and analogy in language, and in the ninth and last book on the subject, takes a general view of what is the reverse of analogy, viz anomaly cision and perspicuity which Varro displays in this work ment the highest encomiums, and justify the character given him in his own time, of being the most learned of the Latin grammarians To the loss of the first three books, are to be added several chasms in the others, but fortunately they happen in such places as not to affect the coherency of the author's doctrine, though they interrupt the illustration of it It is observable that this great grammarian makes use of quom for quum, heis for his, and generally quess for quibus This practice having become rather obsolete at the time in which he wrote, we must impute his con tinuance of it to his opinion of its propriety, upon its established principles of grammar, and not to any prejudice of education, or an affectation of singularity As Varro makes no mention of Casar's treatise on Analogy, and had commenced author long be fore him, it is probable that Cæsar's production was of a much later date, and thence we may infer, that those two writers different formation of the standard of the standar fered from each other, at least with respect to some particulars on that subject

This author's treatise De Re Rustica was undertaken at the desire of a friend, who, having purchased some lands, requested of Varro the favour of his instructions relative to farming, and the economy of a country life, in its various departments Though Varro was at this time in his eightieth year, he writes with all the vivacity, though without the levity, of youth, and sets out with invoking, not the Muses, like Homer and Ennus, as he observes, but the twelve derties supposed to be chiefly con cerned in the operations of agriculture. It appears from the account which he gives, that upwards of fifty Greek authors had treated of the he gives, that upwards of fifty Greek authors had treated of this subject in prose, besides Hesiod and Menecrates the Ephesian, who both wrote in verse, exclusive likewise of many Roman writers, and of Mago the Carthaginian, who wrote in the Purish I writers, and of Mago the Carthaginian, who wrote in the Purish I would be the Carthaginian of the in the Punic language Varro's work is divided into three books, the first of which treats of agriculture, the second, of rearing of cuttles and the treats of agriculture, the second, of rearing of cuttles and the treats of agriculture. cattle; and the third, of feeding animals for the use of the table.

In the last of these we meet with a remarkable instance of the prevalence of habit and fashion over human sentiment, where the author delivers instructions relative to the best method of

fattening rate.

We field from Quintilian, that \(\forall \) arro likewise composed satires in various kinds of verse. It is impossible to behold the numerous fragments of this venerable author without feeling the strongest regret for the loss of that rast collection of information which he had made on a variety of subjects, during a life of eighty-eighty-gars, almost entirely deroted to hierartine. The remark of St. Augustine is well founded, That it is astonishing how \(\forall \) arro, who read such a number of books, could find time to compose so many volumes; and how he who composed so many rotumes could be at leisure to persue such a variety of books, and to gain so much literary information.

Catilina is said to have been born at Verona, of respectable parents; his father and himself being in the liabit of intunary with Julius Ocear. He was brought to Rome by Mallius, to whom several of his epigrams are addressed. The gentleness of his manners, and his application to study we are told, recommended him to general enterm; and he had the good fortune to obtain the patronage of Giorno. When he came to be known as a poet, all these circumstances would naturally contribute to in crease his reputation for ingenuity; and accordingly we find his genitus applanded by several of his contemporaries. It appears that his works are not transmitted entire to posterity; but there remain sufficient specimes hy which we may be combled to appear

preciate his poetical talents.

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Quintilian, and Domed the grammarian, have ranked Catallus sunnegst the insulus writers, while others have placed him smoogyst the lyne. He has properly a claim to each of these stations; but his resulfication being chiefly simble, the former of the arrangements seems to be the most suitable. The prince pal ment of Catallus a lambus consists in a simplicity of thought and expression. The thoughts, however are often frivolous, and what is yet more reprehensible the author gives way to gross obscenity; in vinducation of which he produces the following couplet, declaring that a good poet ought to be chaste in his own person, but that his versee need not be so

Nam castum esso decet plum postam Ipsam : versiculos nihil necesse est.

This sentiment has been frequently cited by those who were inclined to follow the example of Catullus; but if such a practice be in any case admissible, it is only where the poet personates a profligate character, and the instances in which it is adopted by Catullus are not of that description. It had perhaps been a better apology, to have pleaded the manners of the times, for even Horace, who wrote only a few years after, has suffered his compositions to be occasionally debased by the same kind of blemish

Much has been said of this poet's invective against Casar, which produced no other effect than an invitation to sup at the dietator's house It was indeed scarcely entitled to the honour of the smallest resentment If any could be shewn, it must have been for the freedom used by the author, and not for any novelty in his lampoon There are two poems on this subject, viz the twenty-ninth and fifty-seventh, in each of which Cosar is joined with Mamurra, a Roman knight, who had acquired great riches in the Gallic war For the honour of Catullus's gratitude, we should suppose that the latter is the one to which historians allude but, as poetical compositions, they are equally unworthy of regard The fifty seventh is nothing more than a broad repetition of the raillery, whether well or ill founded, with which Casar was attacked on various occasions, and even in the senate, after his return from Bithynia Cæsar had been taunted with this subject for upwards of thirty years, and after so long a familiarity with reproach, his sensibility to the seandalous imputa tion must now have been much diminished, if not entirely extin The other poem is partly in the same strain, but extended to greater length, by a mixture of common jocular ribaldry of the Roman soldiers, expressed nearly in the same terms which Casar's legions, though strongly attached to his person, scrupled not to sport publicly in the streets of Rome, against their general, during the celebration of his triumph. In a word, it deserves to be regarded as an effusion of Saturnahan licentiousness, rather than of poetry With respect to the Iambics of Catullus, we may observe in general, that the sarcasm is indebted for its force, not so much to ingenuity of sentiment, as to the indelicate nature of the subject, or coarseness of expression

The descriptive poems of Catullus are superior to the others, and discover a lively imagination. Amongst the best of his productions, is a translation of the celebrated ode of Sappho

Ille mî par esse Deo videtur, Yne, &c

This ode is executed both with spirit and elegance, it is, however, imperfect, and the last stanza seems to be spurious. Catullus's epigrams are entitled to little praise, with regard either to sentiment or point, and on the whole, his merit, as a poet, appears to have been magnified beyond its real extent. He is said to have died about the thirtieth year of his age

Lucretius is the anthor of a celebrated poem, in six books De Rerum Natura: a subject which had been treated many ages before by Empedocles, a philosopher and poet of Agrigentum. Lucrotius was a zealous partizen of Democratus, and the sect of Epi curus, whose principles concerning the eternity of matter the materiality of the soul, and the non-existence of a future state of rewards and punishments, he aff cts to maintain with a certainty equal to that of mathematical demonstration. Strongly prepossessed with the hypothetical doctrines of his master and ignorant of the physical aystem of the universe, he endeavours to deduce from the phenomena of the material world conclusions not only unsupported by legitimatotheory but repurpant to the principles of the highest authority in metaphysical disquisition. But while we condemn his speculative notions as degrading to human na ture, and subversive of the most important interests of mankind, we must admit that he has prosecuted his visionary hypothesis with uncommon ingenuity. Abstracting from it the rhapsodical nature of this production and its obscurity in some parts, it has great ment as a poem. The style is clevated, and the versifica tion in general harmonious. By the mixture of obsolete words, it possesses an air of solemnity well adapted to abstruse researches; at the same time that by the frequent resolution of diphthongs it instils into the Latin the sonorous and melodious powers of the Greek language.

While Loccetius was engaged in this work he fell into a state of insanity occasioned, as is supposed, by a philtre or lorspotion given him by his wife Lucila. The complaint, however laving locid intervals, he employed them in the execution of his plan, and, soon after it was floashed, laid violent hands upon himself, in the forty third year of his age. This fatal termination of his life which perhaps proceeded from insanity was ascribed by his freends and antivery to his concern for the banishment of one Memmius, with whom he was infimately connected, and for the distracted state of the republic. It was, however a catastrophe which the principle of Epicurus, equally erroneous and irreconcilable to resignation and fortitude anthorized in particular circumstances. Even Attucus, the celebrated correspondent of Ci cero, a few years after this period, had recourse to the same desporate expedient, by refusing all sustenance while he laboured

under a lingering duesso.

It is said that Occreo revised the poem of Lucretius after the death of the suther and thus circumstance is urged by the abetters of sithsium, as a proof that the principles contained in the work had the sanction of his authority But no inference in favour of Lucretius a doctrine can jurily be drawn from this cir.

cumstance Ciecro, though already sufficiently acquainted with the principles of the Epieurean sect, might not be averse to the perusal of a production, which collected and enforced them in a nervous strain of poetry, especially as the work was likely to prove interesting to his friend Atticus, and would perhaps afford subject for some letters or conversation between them have been only with reference to composition that the poem was submitted to Cieero's revisal for had he been required to exercise his judgment upon its principles, he must undoubtedly liave so much mutilated the work, as to destroy the coherency of the system He might be gratified with the shew of elaborate research, and confident declamation, which it exhibited, but he must have utterly disapproved of the conclusions which the author endeavoured to establish According to the best information, Lucretius died in the year from the building of Rome 701, when Pompey was the third time consul Cicero hved several years beyond this period, and in the two last years of his life, he composed those valuable works which contain sentiments diametrically repugnant to the visionary system of Epicurus argument, therefore, drawn from Cicero's revisal, so far from confirming the principle of Lucretius, affords the strongest tacit declaration against their validity, because a period sufficient for mature consideration had elapsed, before Cicero published his own admirable system of philosophy The poem of Lucretius, nevertheless, has been regarded as the bulwark of atheism-of atheism, which, while it imprously arrogates the support of reason, both reason and nature disclaim

Many more writers flourished in this period, but their works have totally perished. Sallust was now engaged in historical productions, but as they were not yet completed, they will be

noticed in the next division of the review

## D OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS

I. That the family of the Octavii was of the first distinction in Velitres, is rendered evident by many circumstances. For in the most frequented part of the town there was, not long since, a street named the Octavian and an aliar was to be seen consecuted to one Octavius, who being chosen general in a war with some neighbouring people, the enemy making a sudden attack, while he was secretified to Mars, he immediately statched the cutralls of the victum from off the fire and offered them half row upon the altar after which, marching out to bettle, he returned victorious. This incident give rise to a law, by which it was enseted, that in all future times the or trails should be affered to Mars in the same manner and the rest of the victim be carried to the Octavii

II. This family as well as several in Rome was admitted into the senate by Tarquinius Priscus, and soon afterwards placed by Servius Tullius among the patricians but in process of time it transferred itself to the plebenan order and, after the lapse of a long interval, was restored by Julius Cosar to the rank of patricians. The first person of the family raised by the suffrages of the people to the magistracy was Caus Rufus He obtained the quaretorship and had two sons, Cacius and Causs from whom are descended the two branches of the Octavian family which have had very different fortunes For Cherus, and his descendants in uninterrupted succession, held all the highest offices of the state whilst Carns and his posterity, whother from their circumstances or their choice, remained in the equestrian order until the father of Augustus The greatgrandfather of Augustus served as a military tribune in the second Punic war in Sicily under the command of Æmilius Pappus. His grandfather contented himself with bearing the public offices of his own numicipality and grow old in the tranquil enjoyment of an ample patrimony Such is the account given

1 A town in the ancient Volteian territory now called Velotra. It stands on the verge of the Pontine Marshes, on the road to Naples.

by different authors Augustus himself, however, tells us not thing more than that he was descended of an equestrian family, both ancient and rich, of which his father was the first who obtained the rank of senator Mark Antony upbraidingly tells him that his great-grandfather was a freedman of the territory of Thurium, and a rope-maker, and his grandfather a usurer This is all the information I have any where met with, respecting the ancestors of Augustus by the father's side

III His father Caius Octavius was, from his earliest years, a person both of opulence and distinction for which reason I am surprised at those who say that he was a money-dealer,<sup>2</sup> and was employed in scattering bribes, and canvassing for the candidates at elections, in the Campus Martius bred up in all the affluence of a great estate, he attained with ease to honourable posts, and discharged the duties of them with much distinction After his prætorship, he obtained by lot the province of Macedonia, in his way to which he cut off some banditti, the relics of the armies of Spartacus and Catiline, who had possessed themselves of the territory of Thurium, having received from the senate an extraordinary commission for that purpose In his government of the province, he conducted himself with equal justice and resolution, for he defeated the Bessians and Thracians in a great battle, and treated the allies of the republic in such a manner, that there are extant letters from M Tullius Cicero, in which he advises and exhorts his brother Quintus, who then held the proconsulship of Asia with no great reputation, to imitate the example of his neighbour Octavius, in gaining the affections of the allies of Rome

IV After quitting Macedonia, before he could declare himself a candidate for the consulship, he died suddenly, leaving behind him a daughter, the elder Octavia, by Ancharia, and another daughter, Octavia the younger, as well as Augustus, by Atia, who was the daughter of Marcus Atius Balbus, and Julia, sister to Caius Julius Cæsar Balbus was, by the father s

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thurium was a territory in Magnz Gracia on the coast, near Tarentum
<sup>2</sup> Argentarius, a banker, one who dealt in exchanging money as well as lent his own funds at interest to borrowers. As a class, they possessed great wealth, and were persons of consideration in Rome at this period.

side of a Limily who were natives of Aricia, and many of whom had been in the cenate. By the mother a such he was nearly related to Pompey the Great; and after he had borne the office of practor was one of the twenty commissioners appeared by the Julian law to devide the land in Campania among the people. But Mark Antony treating with contempt Augustus a descent even by the mother a side says that his great grand father was of African descent and at one time kept a perfumer's shop, and at mother a bake-house in tricia. And Cassins of Parma, in letter taxes Augustus with being the son not only of n baker but a usure. These are his words:

Thou art n lump of thy mother's meal which n money changer of 'verulum taking from the newest bake-hone of Aricia, kneeded into some shape with his hands all dis cloured by the fingering of money

V Augustus was born in the consulatip of Marcus Tullius Giero and Caius Antonius, upon the ninth of the calends of October (the 23rd September), a little before summe in the quarter of the Palatine Hill and the street called The Or Heads, where now stands a chapel dedicated to him, and built a little after his death. For as it is recorded in the proceedings of the senate when Caius Letonus, a young man of a patrician family in pleading before the senators for a lighter sentence, upon his being courrected of adultery alleged, besides his youth and quality that he was the possessor and as it were the guardian, of the ground which the Divine Augustus first tuesbed upon his coming into the world and catterated that

<sup>1</sup> Now Laricia, or Riccia, a town of the Campagna di Roma, on the Applan Way about ten miles from Roma, 1 A.U.O. 591. A.C. (Defore Child) GI

The Paletine bill was not only the first seat of the colony of Romales, but gave its name to the first and principal of the four regimes late which the city was divided, from the time of Servina Tollines, the with this di-Rome, to that of Augustus; the others being the Suburra, Esquillian, and Colline.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> There were seven streets or quartery in the Palatine region, one of which we called "Ad Capita Brobate, either from the buckers" stalls at which or heads are heng up for sale, or from their being supplement on some cellion. Thus the trenshine of a fortification sear the tenth of cellia Metella are now called Cape & Hover from the arms of the Galtani family over the gain.

he might find favour, for the sake of that deity, who was in a peculiar manner his, an act of the senate was passed, for the consceration of that part of his house in which Augustus was born.

VI His nuisery is shown to this day, in a villa belonging to the family, in the suburbs of Velitre, being a very small place, and much like a paintry. An opinion prevails in the neighbourhood, that he was also born there. Into this place no person presumes to enter, unless upon necessity, and with great devotion, from a belief, for a long time prevalent, that such as rashly enter it are seized with great horror and consternation, which a short while since was confirmed by a remarkable incident. For when a new inhabitant of the house had, either by mere chance, or to try the truth of the report, taken up his lodging in that apartment, in the course of the night, a few hours afterwards, he was thrown out by some sudden violence, he knew not how, and was found in a state of stupefaction, with the coverlid of his bed, before the door of the chamber

VII While he was yet an infant, the surname of Thurinus was given him, in memory of the birth-place of his family, or because, soon after he was born, his father Octavius had been successful against the fugitive slaves, in the country near That he was surnamed Thurinus, I can affirm upon Thurium good foundation, for when a boy, I had a small bronze statue of him, with that name upon it in iron letters, nearly effaced by age, which I presented to the emperor, by whom it is now revered amongst the other tutelary deities in his chamber He is also often called Thurinus contemptuously, by Mark Antony in his letters, to which he makes only this reply "I am surprised that my former name should be made a subject of reproach" He afterwards assumed the name of Caius Cæsar. and then of Augustus, the former in compliance with the will of his great-uncle, and the latter upon a motion of Munatius Plancus in the senate For when some proposed to confer upon him the name of Romulus, as being, in a manner, a second founder of the city, it was resolved that he should rather be called Augustus, a surname not only new, but of more dignity, because places devoted to religion, and those in which anything

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Adrian, to whom Suetonius was secretary.

is consecrated by augury are denominated august, either from the word actus, signifying augmentation or ab serious gerits, gusters from the flight and feeding of birds as oppears from this verse of Ennus:

When glorious Rome by angust anymy was built.1

VIII. He lost his father when he was only four years of age and in his twelfth year pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his grand mother Julia. Four years afterwards, having assumed the robe of manhood he was honoured with several military rewards by Carsar in his African triumph although he took no part in the war on account of his youth. Upon his uncle a expedition to Spain against the sons of Pom pey he was followed by his nephew although he was scarcely recovered from a dangerous sickness and after being shipwrecked at sea, and travelling with very fow attendants through roads that were infested with the enemy be at last came up with him. This activity gave great satisfaction to his uncle who soon conceived an increasing affection for him, on account of such indications of character After the subjugation of Spain, while Corar was meditating an expedition against the Docians and Parthians, he was sent before him to Apollonia, where he applied himself to his studies until receiving in telligence that his uncle was murdered, and that he was onpointed his hear he houtsted for some time whether he should call to his aid the legious stationed in the neighbourhood hut he abandoned the dough as rash and premature. However re turning to Rome, he took possession of his inhoritance, although his mother was apprehensive that such a measure might be ettended with danger and his step-father Marcius Philippus, a man of consular rank, very carnestly dismaded him from it. From this time, collecting together a strong military force, he first held the government in conjunction with Mark Antony and Marcus Lepidus, then with Antony only for nearly twelve years, and at last in his own hands during o period of four and lotty

IX. Having thus given a very short summary of his life I shall prosecute the several parts of it, not in order of time but arranging his acts into distinct classes, for the sake of

Augusto augurio postquam inclyta condita Roma est.

perspicuity He was engaged in five civil wars, namely those of Modena, Philippi, Perugia, Sicily, and Actium, the first and last of which were against Antony, and the second against Brutus and Cassius, the third against Lucius Antonius, the triumvir's brother, and the fourth against Sextus Pompeius, the son of Cheius Pompeius

X The motive which gave rise to all these wars was the ommon he entertained that both his honour and interest were concerned in revenging the murder of his uncle, and maintaining the state of affairs he had established Immediately after his return from Apollonia, he formed the design of taking forcible and unexpected measures against Brutus and Cassius. but they having foreseen the danger and made their escape, he resolved to proceed against them by an appeal to the laws in their absence, and impeach them for the murder mean time, those whose province it was to prepare the sports in honour of Cæsar's last victory in the civil war, not daring to do it, he undertook it himself. And that he might carry into effect his other designs with greater authority, he declared nimself a candidate in the room of a tribune of the people who happened to die at that time, although he was of a patrician family, and had not yet been in the senate But the consul, Mark Antony, from whom he had expected the greatest assistance, opposing him in his suit, and even refusing to do him so much as common justice, unless gratified with a large bribe. he went over to the party of the nobles, to whom he perceived Sylla to be odious, chiefly for endeavouring to drive Decius Brutus, whom he besieged in the town of Modena, out of the province, which had been given him by Cæsar, and confirmed to him by the senate At the instigation of persons about him, he engaged some ruffians to murder his antagonist, but the plot being discovered, and dreading a similar attempt upon himself, he gained over Cæsar's veteran soldiers, by distributing among them all the money he could collect Being now commissioned by the senate to command the troops he had gathered, with the rank of prætor, and in conjunction with Hirtius and Pansa, who had accepted the consulship, to carry assistance to Decius Brutus, he put an end to the war by two battles in three months Antony writes, that in the former of these he ran away, and two days afterwards made his appearance without his general a clock and his horse. In the has battle however it is certain that he performed the part not only of e general, but a soldier for in the heat of the battle when the standard hearer of his legion was severely wounded he took the eagle upon his shoulders, and carried it a long time

XI. In this war! Iffitues being slam in battle and Panna dying a short time afterwards of a wound, a report was circu lated that they both were killed through his means in order that, when Antony fled the republic having lost its consult, he might have the viterious armies entirely at his own com mand. The death of Panna was so fully believed to have been caused by unden means, that Glyco his surgeon, was placed in custody on a suzpicion of having poisoned his wound. And to this, Aquillius Niger adds, that he killed Hirtius, the other consul, in the confession of the bottle with his own hands.

XII. But upon intelligence that Antony after his defeat, had been received by Marcus Lepidus, and that the rest of the generals and armies had all declared for the senante, he, with out any hesitation deserted from the party of the nobles sileging as an excuse for his conduct, the actions and sayings of several amongst them for some said, he was a mero by "and others three out, that he ought to be promoted to honours, and cut off, to avoid the making any suitable oc knowledgment either to him or the veteran legions. And the more to testify his regret for having before attached himself to the other faction he fined the Nursin in a large sum of money which they were unable to pay, and then expelled them from the town for having inserthed upon a monument, erected at the public charge to their countrymen who were a min the betile of Modena, That they fell in the cause of liberty

AIII. Having entered into a confederacy with Antony and Lepidus, he brought the war at Philippi to an end in two battles, although he was at that time weak, and suffering from ackness. In the first battle he was driven from his camp

<sup>1</sup> A.v.c. 711.

and with some difficulty made his escape to the wing of the army commanded by Antony And now, intoxicated with success, he sent the head of Brutus to be cast at the foot of Cæsar's statue, and treated the most illustrious of the prisoners not only with cruelty, but with abusive language, insomuch that he is said to have answered one of them who humbly intreated that at least he might not remain unburied, "That will be in the power of the birds" Two others, father and son, who begged for their lives, he ordered to cast lots which of them should live, or settle it between themselves by the sword, and was a spectator of both their deaths for the father offering his life to save his son, and being accordingly executed, the son likewise killed himself upon the spot On this account, the rest of the prisoners, and amongst them Marcus Favonius, Cato's rival, being led up in fetters, after they had saluted Antony, the general, with much respect, reviled Octavius in the foulest language After this victory, dividing between them the offices of the state, Mark Antony2 undertook to restore order in the east, while Cæsar conducted the veteran soldiers back to Italy, and settled them in colonies on the lands belonging to the municipalities But he had the misfortune to please neither the soldiers nor the owners of the lands, one party complaining of the injustice done them, in being violently ejected from their possessions, and the other, that they were not rewarded according to their ment 3

XIV At this time he obliged Lucius Antony, who, presuming upon his own authority as consul, and his brother's power, was raising new commotions, to fly to Perugia, and forced him, by famine, to surrender at last, although not without having been exposed to great hazards, both before the war and during its continuance. For a common soldier having got into the seats of the equestrian order in the theatre, at the public spectacles, Cæsar ordered him to be removed by an officer, and a rumour being thence spread by his enemies, that he had

After being defeated in the second engagement, Brutus retired to a hill, and slew himself in the night.

The triumvir There were three distinguished brothers of the name of Antony, Mark, the consul, Caius, who was prætor, and Lucius, a tribune of the people.

Virgil was one of the fugitives, having narrowly escaped being killed by the centurion Ario, and being ejected from his farm. Eclog 1

put the man to death by torture the soldiers flocked together so much energed, that he narrowly excaped with his life. The only thing that saved him, was the sudden oppearance of the man, safe and sound no violence having been offered him. And whilst he was sacrificing under the walls of Perugia, he nearly fell into the hands of a body of gladiators, who sallied out of the town.

XV After the taking of Perugia, he sentenced a great number of the prisoners to death making only one reply to all who implored parden or endeavoured to excuse themselves, 'You must die. Some anthors write that three hundred of the two orders, selected from the rest, were slangthered like victims, before an altar raised to Julius Casear upon the ides of Mierch [16th April]. Any there are some who relate, that he entered upon the war with no other riew than that his secret encurses, and those whom fear more than affection kept quick, might be detected, by declaring themselves, now they had an opportunity with Lucius Antony at their bead and that having defeated them, and confiscated their exists, he might be enabled to fulfil his promises to the veteran soldiers

VVI. He soon commenced the Suillan war but it was protracted by various delays during a long period. \*a tone time for the purpose of repairing his fleets, which he lost twice by storm, even in the summer at another while patching up a poace, to which he was forced by the clamours of the people in consequence of a famino occasioned by Pompoy's cutting off the supply of corn by sea. But at last, having built a now fleet, and obtained twenty thousand manufited slaves, who were given him for the our he formed the Julian harbour at Bam, by letting the see into the Lucence and Aromine lakes; and laving exercised his forces there during the whole winter he defeated Pompoy betwirk Mylin and Naulochus although

The anniversary of Julius Cenar's death. 2 A.v c. 712-718.

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just as the engagement commenced, he suddenly fell into such a profound sleep, that his friends were obliged to wake him to give the signal This, I suppose, gave occasion for Antony's re-"You were not able to take a clear view of the fleet, when drawn up in line of battle, but lay stupidly upon your back, gazing at the sky, not did you get up and let your men see you, until Marcus Agrippa had forced the enemics' ships to sheer off" Others imputed to him both a saying and an action which were indefensible, for, upon the loss of his fleets by storm, he is reported to have said. "I will conquer in spite of Nentune," and at the next Circensian games, he would not suffer the statue of that God to be carried in procession as usual Indeed he scarcely ever ran more or greater risks in any of his wars than in this Having transported part of his army to Sicily, and being on his return for the rest, he was unexpectedly attacked by Demochares and Apollophanes, Pompey's admirals, from whom he escaped with great difficulty, and with one ship only Likewise, as he was travelling on foot through the Locrian territory to Rhegium, seeing two of Pompey's vessels passing by that coast, and supposing them to be his own, he went down to the shore, and was very nearly taken prisoner On this occasion, as he was making his escape by some bye-ways, a slave belonging to Æmilius Paulus, who accompanied him, owing him a grudge for the proscription of Paulus, the father of Æmilius, and thinking he had now an opportunity of revenging it, attempted to as-After the defeat of Pompey, one of his colsassinate him leagues, Marcus Lepidus, whom he had summoned to his aid from Africa, affecting great superiority, because he was at the head of twenty legions, and claiming for himself the principal management of affairs in a threatening manner, he divested him of his command, but, upon his humble submission, granted him his life, but banished him for life to Circeii

XVII The alliance between him and Antony, which had always been precarious, often interrupted, and ill cemented by repeated reconciliations, he at last entirely dissolved <sup>1</sup> And to make it known to the world how far Antony had degene

1 AUC 723

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the triumvirate, consisting of Augustus, Mark Antony, and Lepidus

rated from patriotic feelings, he caused a will of his, which had been left at Rome and in which he had nominated Cleopatra s children amongst others, as his heirs, to be opened and read in an assembly of the people. Yet upon his being declared an enemy, he sent to him all his relations and friends among whom were Caus Sorius and Titus Domitius, at that time consuls. He likewise spoke favourably in public of the people of Bologna, for joining in the association with the rest of Italy to support his cause because they had, in former times, been under the protection of the family of the Antonia And not long afterwards he defeated him in a naval engagement near Actium which was prolonged to so late an hour that, after the victory he was obliged to sleep on board his ship. From Actium he went to the isle of Sames to winter but being alarmed with the accounts of a mutany amongst the soldiers he bad selected from the main body of his army sent to Brundwium after the victory who insisted on their being rewarded for their service and discharged he returned to Italy In his passage thither he encountered two recleat storms, the first between the promentaries of Peloponnesis and Ætolia, and the other about the Ceraunian mountains in both which a part of his Liburnian squadron was sunk the spars and rig ging of his own ship carned away and the rudder broken in pieces. He remained only twenty-seven days at Brundmium, until the demands of the soldiers were settled, and then went, by way of Asia and Syra, to Leypt, where laying slege to Alexandria, whither Antony had fied with Cleopatra, he made himself master of it in a short time. He drove Antony to kill himself, after he had used every effort to obtain conditions of peace, and he saw his corpse! Cleopatra he anxiously wished to save for his triumph and when she was supposed to have been bit to death by an am, he sent for the Pavilie to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is no other authority for Augustas having viewed Antony's corpse. Flutarch informs us, that on hearing his death, Augustas rathered into the interior of his tent, and wept over the fate of his colleague and friend, his associate in so many former struggles, both in war and the adolestration of affirm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The poisso proved fatal as every ose knows, see Velletas, il. 27; Forons, iv II. The Pyrill were a people of Africa, celebrated for tacking the poton from wounds indicted by serpents, with which that country sackently absended. They pretended to be endowed with an antidote which readered their bodies insanable to the virulence of that species of

endeavour to suck out the poison He allowed them to be buried together in the same grave, and ordered a mausoleum, begun by themselves, to be completed The eldest of Antony's two sons by Fulvia he commanded to be taken by force from the statue of Julius Cæsar, to which he had fled, after many fruitless supplications for his life, and put him to death The same fate attended Cæsario, Cleopatra's son by Cæsar, as he pretended, who had fled for his life, but was retaken The children which Antony had by Cleopatra he saved, and brought up and cherished in a manner suitable to their rank, just as if they had been his own relations

XVIII At this time he had a desire to see the sarcophagus and body of Alexander the Great, which, for that purpose, were taken out of the cell in which they rested, and after viewing them for some time, he paid honours to the memory of that prince, by offering a golden crown, and scattering flowers upon the body? Being asked if he wished to see the tombs of the Ptolemies also, he replied, "I wish to see a king, not dead men "B" He reduced Egypt into the form of a province, and to render it more fertile, and more capable of supplying Rome with corn, he employed his army to scour the canals, into which the Nile, upon its rise, discharges itself, but which during a long series of years had become nearly choked up To perpetuate the glory of his victory at Actium, he built the city of Nicopolis on that part of the coast, and established games to be celebrated there every five years, enlarging likewise an old temple of Apollo, he ornamented with naval crophies4 the spot on which he had pitched his camp, and consecrated it to Neptune and Mars

poison, and the ignorance of those times gave credit to the physical immunity which they arrogated But Celsus, who flourished about fifty years after the period we speak of, has exploded the vulgar prejudice which prevailed in their favour He justly observes, that the venom of serpents, like some other kinds of poison, proves noxious only when applied to the naked fibre, and that, provided there is no ulcer in the gums or palate, the poison may be received into the mouth with perfect safety

1 Strabo informs us that Ptolemy caused it to be deposited in a golden sarcophagus, which was afterwards exchanged for one of glass, in which probably Augustus saw the remains

<sup>2</sup> A custom of all ages and of people the most remote from each other

Meaning the degenerate race of the Ptolomean kings
 The naval trophics were formed of the prows of ships

XIX. He afterwards' quashed several tumplis and insu. rections as well as several conspiracies against his life which were discovered, by the confession of accomplices, before they were ripe for execution and others subsequently. Such were those of the younger Lepidus, of Varro Murana, and Fannius Copio then that of Marcus Equation, afterwards that of Planting Rufus, and of Lucius Paulus, his grand-daughter a husband and besides these, another of Lucius Audasius, an old feeble man, who was under prosecution for forgery as also of Asimus Epicadus, a Parthinian mongrel, and at last that of Telephus a lady s prompter. for he was in danger of his lafe from the plots and conspiracies of some of the lowest of the people against him. Audanus and Epicadus had form vi the design of carrying off to the armies his daughter Julia, and his grandson Agrippo, from the islands in which they were Telephus, wildly dreaming that the government was destined to him by the fates, proposed to fall both upon Octavius and the senate. Nay once, a soldier's servant belong ing to the army in Hlyricum, having passed the porters unobserved, was found in the night-time standing before his cham ber-door armed with a hunting-dagger Whether the person was really disordered in the head, or only counterfeited mad ness, is uncertain for no confession was obtained from him by tortum.

XX. He conducted in person only two foreign wars the Delmatian, whilst he was yet but a youth and, after Antony's final defect, the Cantabrian. He was wounded in the former of these wars is one battle he received a contusion in the right knee from a stone—and in another he was much burt in

A.D.a. 721

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Because his father was a Roman and his mother of the race of the Parthial, an Illyrian tribe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> It was roual at Rome, before the elections, for the candidates to en decarour to git popularity by the seast are. They would therefore go to the bouss of the citizon, shake hands with those they met, and address them in a kindly manner. It being of great consequence, upon those excasions, to know the names of persons, they were counts by strended by a nonemation, who with special time their care that information, wherewere the was wanted. Though this kind of officer was generally as attendant on mea we meet with bastaces of their having been fill evides only led in the service of ladies; either with the view of strying candidates to whom they were allied, or of gining the affections of the people.

one leg and both arms, by the fall of a tridge 1. His other wars he carried on by his heutenants, but occasionally visited 2.2 army, in some of the wars of Pannonia and Germany, or remained at no great distance, proceeding from Rome as far as Ravenna, Milan, or Aquileia

XXI He conquered, however, partly in person, and partly by his licutenants, Cantabria,2 Aquitania and Pannonia, Dalmatia, with all Illyricum and Rhætia, besides the two Alpine nations, the Vindelier and the Salassii. He also checked the meursions of the Dacians, by cutting off three of their generals with vast armics, and drove the Germans beyond the river Elbe; removing two other tribes who submitted, the Ubir and Sicambri, into Gaul, and settling them in the country bordering on the Rhine Other nations also, which broke into revolt, he reduced to submission But he never made war upon any nation without just and necessary eause, and was so fur from being ambitious either to extend the empire, or advance his own military glory, that he obliged the chiefs of some barbarous tribes to swear in the temple of Mars the Avenger, that they would faithfully observe their engagements, and not violate the peace which they had implored. Of some he demanded a new description of hostages, their women, having found from experience that they eared little for their men when given as hostages, but he always af-forded them the means of getting back their hostages whenever they wished it Even those who engaged most frequently and with the greatest perfidy in their rebellion, he never punished more severely than by selling their captives, on the terms

<sup>1</sup> Not a bridge over a river, but a military engine used for gaining admittance into a fortress

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cantabria, in the north of Spain, now the Basque province.

<sup>3</sup> The ancient Pannonia includes Hangary and part of Austria, Styria and Carniola

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Rhætian Alps are that part of the chain bordering on the Twrol.
<sup>5</sup> The Vindelici principally occupied the country which is now the kingdom of Bavaria, and the Salassii, that part of Picdinont which in cludes the valley of Aost

I he temple of Mars Ultor was creeted by Angustus in fulfilment of a von reade by him at the battle of Phi ippi It stood in the Forum which he built, mentioned in chap xxxix There are no remains of either

of their zot serving in any neighbourning country not enginelessed from their slavery before the expiration of thirty years. By the character which he thus acquired, for tritue and raideration, he induced even the Indians and Scythlant nations before known to the Romans by report any to solidit his friendship, and that of the Roman people by ambassadors. The Parthian readily allowed has claim to Armenia reatoning a his demand, the standards which they had taken from Marcus Crassus and Mark Antony and offering him hostages be sides. Afterwards, when a context arose between several pretenders to the crown of that kingdom they refused to acknowledge any one yeb was not chosen by him.

XXII The temple of Janus Quirnus, which had been abut twice only from the era of the building of the city to his own time, he closed thrice in a much shorter period having catabilated universal poace both by sea and land. In twice cutared the city with the honours of an Oration, namely after the war of Fhilippi and again after that of Sicily. Ho ad also three curulo trumphs for his soure victories in

1 ° The Oratio was an inferior lead of Triumph a anted in cases where the victory was not of great importance, or had been obtained without difficulty. The general entered the city on foot or on horeslack crowned with mytele, now with lawes; and lasted of bullects the user-fice was performed with a sheep, whence this procession acquired its huma. —Themesa.

3 "The greater Triumph, in which the victorious general and his army advanced in solemn procession through the city to the Capitol, was the highest military honour which could be obtained in the Roman state. Foremost in the procession went musicians of various kinds, singing and playing triumphal songs. Next were led the onen to be sacrificed, having their horns gilt, and their heads adorned with fillets and garlands. Then in curriages were brought the spoils taken from the enemy statues, pictures, plate, armour gold and silver and brass with golden crowns, and other gifts, seat b the allied and tributary states. The captive princes and generals followed in chains, with their children and attendants. Afta them came the lictors, having their farces wreathed with laurel, followest by a great company of musicians and dancers dressed like Satyra, and wearing crowns of gold in the midst of whom was one ! a female dress, whose business it was, with his looks and gestures, to insult the vanquished. Next followed a long train of persons carrying perfumes. Then came the victorious general, dressed in purple embroidered with gold, with a crown of laurel on his head, a branch of laurel in his right hand and in his left an frory sceptra, with an eagle on the top; having Dalmatia at Aetium, and Alexandria, each of which asted three days

XXIII In all his wars, he never received any signal or ignominious defeat, except twice in Germany, under his lieutenants Lollius and Varus The former indeed had in it more of dishonour than disaster, but that of Varus threatened the security of the empire itself, three legions, with the commander, his lieutenants, and all the auxiliaries, being cut off Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, he gave orders for keeping a strict watch over the city, to prevent any public disturbance, and prolonged the appointments of the prefects in the provinces, that the allies might be kept in order by experience of persons to whom they were used. He made a vow to eclebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter, Optimus, Maximus, "if he would be pleased to restore the state to more prosperous circumstances" This had formerly been resorted to in the Cimbrian and Marsian wars. In short, we are informed that he was in such constrination at this event, that he let the hair of his head and beard grow for several months, and sometimes knocked his head against the door-posts, crying out, "O, Quintilius Varus! Give me back my legions!" And

his face painted with vermilion, in the same manner as the statue of Jupiter on festival days, and a golden Bulla hanging on his breast, and containing some amulet, or magical preservative against envy He stood in a gilded chariot adorned with ivory, and drawn by four white horses, sometimes by elephants, attended by his relations, and a great crowd of citizens, all in white His children used to ride in the chariot with him, and that he might not be too much clated, a slave, carrying a golden crown sparkling with gems, stood behind him, and frequently whispered in his ear, 'Remember that thou art a man!' After the general, followed the consuls and senators on foot, at least according to the appointment of Augustus, for they formerly used to go before him and military Tribines commonly rode by his side. The victorious army, horse and foot, came last, crowned with laurel, and decorated with the gifts which they had received for their valour, singing their own and their general's praises, but sometimes throwing out railleries against him, and often exclaiming, 'Io Triumphe!' in which they were joined by all the citizens, as they passed along The oxen having been sacrificed, the general gave a magnificent entertainment in the Capitol to his friends and the chief men of the city, after which he was conducted home by the people, with music and a great number of lamps and torches"-Thomson

ever after he observed the anniversary of this calamity as a day of serrow and mourning

XXIV In military affairs he made many alterations, in troducing some practices entirely new and reviving others, which had become obsolete. He maintained the strictest discipline among the troops and would not allow even his licu tenents the liberty to visit their wives except reluctantly and in the winter seeson only A Roman knight having out off the thumbs of his two young sons, to render them in capable of serving in the wars, he exposed both him and his estate to public sale. But upon observing the farmers of the revenue very groody for the purchase, he assigned him to a freedman of his own that he might send him into the country and suffer him to retain his freedom. The tenth legion becoming mutanous, he disbanded it with ignominy and did the same by some others which petulantly demanded their discharge withholding from them the rewards usually bestowed on those who had served their stated time in the wars. The cohorts which yielded their ground in time of action, he decimated, and fed with barley Centurions, as well as common sentinels, who deserted their posts when on guard, he punished with death. For other misdemeanors he inflicted upon them various kinds of disgrace such as obliging them to stand all day before the pretonum, sometimes in their tunics only and without their belts, sometimes to carry poles ten feet long or sods of turf.

XXV After the conclusion of the orill wars, he never in may of his military haringues, or proclamations, addressed them by the title of Fellow-soldiers, but as Boldiers only for would he suffer them to be otherwise called by his some or step-sons, when they were in command judging the former optithet to convey the idea of a degree of condescention inconsistent with military discipline, the maintenance of order and his own majesty and that of his house. Unless at Rome, in case of incendiary fires, or under the spreshension of public disturbances during a scarcity of provinous, he naver employed in his army slaves who had been made freedmen, except upon two occasions on one, for the security of the colonies bordering upon Illyricum, and on the other to guard

the banks of the river Rhine Although he obliged pe fortune, both male and female, to give up their slaves, a received their manumission at once, yet he kept them under their own standard, unmixed with soldiers w better born, and armed likewise after different fashio litary rowards, such as trappings, collais, and other dec of gold and silver, he distributed more readily than mural crowns, which were reckoned more honourable t These he bestowed sparingly, without pa and frequently even on common soldiers. He present Agrippa, after the naval engagement in the Sicilian we Those who shared in the honoi a sea-green banner triumph, although they had attended him in his expe and taken part in his victories, he judged it improper tinguish by the usual rewards for service, because the right themselves to grant such rewards to whom they r He thought nothing more derogatory to the character accomplished general than precipitancy and rashnes which account he had frequently in his mouth those pro

> Σπεῦδε βραδέως, Hasten slowly,

And

'Ασφαλής γὰρ ἐστ' άμείνων, ή θράσυς στρατηλάτης The cautious captain's better than the bold.

And "That is done fast enough, which is done well end.

He was wont to say also, that "a battle or a war nover to be undertaken, unless the prospect of gain balanced the fear of loss. For," said he, "men who small advantages with no small hazard, resemble thos fish with a golden hook, the loss of which, if the line happen to break, could never be compensated by all they might take"

XXVI He was advanced to public offices before that which he was legally qualified for them, and to some of a new kind, and for life. He seized the consulship twentieth year of his age, quartering his legions in a tening manner near the city, and sending deputies to do it for him in the name of the army. When the senar

murred a centurion, named Cornelius, who was at the head of the chief deputation, throwing back his clouk, and showing the hilt of his sword, had the presumption to say in the sonate-house. 'This will make him consul if yo will not. second consulship he filled nine years afterwards his third, after the interval of only one your and held the same office every year moccesively until the claventh. From this period, al though the consulabip was frequently offered him, he always dealmed it, until, after a long interval, not less than seventeen years, he voluntarily stood for the twelfth, and two years after that, for a thirteenth that he might successively introduce into the forum, on their ontering public life his two sons, Cains and Lucius, while he was invested with the highest office in the state. In his five consulables from the sixth to the eleventh, he continued in office throughout the year but in the rest, during only nine six, four or three months, and in his second no more than a few hours. For heving sat for a short time in the morning upon the calends of January [1st January], in his curule chear' before the temple of Ju inter Capitolinus, he abdicated the office and substituted another in his room. Nor did he enter upon them all et Rome, but upon the fourth in Asia, the fifth in the Isle of Sames, and the eighth and ninth at Tarragona.

XXVII. During ten years he acted as one of the trumwirate for titling the commonwealth in which office he for some type opposed his colleagues in their design of a prescription but after it was begun he prosecuted it with more determined risgour than either of them. For whilst they were often provided upon, by the interest and intercommon of friends, to show mercy he alone strongly insisted that no one should be spared, and even proscribed claim formance, he guardian, who had

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Solic Corulis was a clair on which the principal magistrates as in the tribunal rope scheme occasions. It had no back, but no four crowled feet, faced to the extremities of cross pieces of wood, ordered feet, faced to the extremities of cross pieces of wood, ordered with leather and failed with large. From its construction it adjust the occasionally folded togetizer for the occurrences of carrange and set down where the negitivat chose to use it. — Themses.

Moy Survivose.

A great and wise man, if he is the same person to whom Cicero's letters on the calendries of the those were addressed. Fru Epiri c. vi. 20, 21

been formerly the colleague of his father Octavius in the edile-Junius Saturnius adds this farther account of him when, after the proscription was over, Marcus Lepidus made an apology in the senate for their past proceedings, and gave them hopes of a more mild administration for the future, because they had now sufficiently crushed their enemies, he, on the other hand, declared that the only limit he had fixed to the proscription was, that he should be free to act as he pleased Afterwards, however, repenting of his severity, he advanced T Vinius Philopæmen to the equestrian rank, for having concealed his patron at the time he was proscribed In this same office he incurred great odium upon many accounts was one day making an harangue, observing among the soldiers Pinarius, a Roman knight, admit some private citizens, and engaged in taking notes, he ordered him to be stabbed before his eyes, as a busy-body and a spy upon him He so terrified with his menaces Tedius Afer, the consul elect,1 for having reflected upon some action of his, that he threw himself from a great height, and died on the spot And when Quintus Gallius, the prætor, came to compliment him with a double tablet under his cloak, suspecting that it was a sword he had concealed, and yet not venturing to make a search, lest it should be found to be something else, he caused him to be dragged from his tribunal by centurions and soldiers, and tortured like a slave. and although he made no confession, ordered him to be put to death, after he had, with his own hands, plucked out his eyes account of the matter, however, is, that Quintus Gallius sought a private conference with him, for the purpose of assassinating him, that he therefore put him in prison, but afterwards released him, and banished him the city, when he perished either in a storm at sea, or by falling into the hands of robbers

He accepted of the tribunitian power for life, but more than once chose a colleague in that office for two lustra<sup>2</sup> successively. He also had the supervision of morality and observance of the laws, for life, but without the title of censor, yet he thrice

<sup>1</sup> AUC 731

<sup>2</sup> The Lustrum was a period of five years, at the end of which the census of the people was taken. It was first made by the Roman kings, then by the consuls, but after the year 310 from the building of the city, by the censors, who were magistrates created for that purpose. It appears, however, that the census was not always held at stated periods, and sonstimes long intervals intervened.

took a census of the people, the first and third time with a colleague, but the second by himself

XXVIII He twice entertained thoughts of restoring the republic 1 first, immediately after he had crushed Antony remembering that he had often charged him with being the obstacle to its rectoration. The second time was in consesuence of a long illness, when he cent for the magnetrates and the senate to his own house, and delivered them a particular account of the state of the empire But reflecting at the mine time that it would be both hazardous to himself to return to the condition of a private person and might be dangerous to the public to have the government placed again under the control of the people, he resolved to keep it in his own hands, whether with the botter event or intention is hard to say His good intentions he often affirmed in private discourse, and also published an educt, in which it was declared in the fol lowing terms May it be permitted me to have the happiness of establishing the commonwealth on a sofe and sound bosts, and thus enjoy the roward of which I am ambitious, that of being celebrated for moulding it into the form best adapted to present circumstances so that, on my leaving the world, I may carry with me the hope that the foundations which I have laid for its future government, will stand firm and stable.

XXIX The city, which was not built in a manner suitable to the grandeur of the empire, and was lable to immediators of the Tiber? as well as to fires, was so much improved under his administration that he boasted not without reason, that he fround it of brack, but left it of merihe. <sup>3</sup> He also rendered

Asymptas uppears to have been in earment on these occasions, at least, is his doubt to retain into private life and release blimed from the ears of government, if we may believe Seneca. De Brev Fig. 5. 06 hb two intimate advisors, Agrippa gave this counsel, while Meximus was for continuing his career of ambition.—Earlyne, 1. 5.

The Tiber has been always remarkable for the frequency of its junidations and the rarages they occasioned, as remarked by Piny in 5. Livy monitions several such occurrences, as well as one extensive fire, which destroyed great part of the city

The wall known saying of Augustus, recorded by Suctonius, that he found a city of bricks, but left it of marble, has another cution gives it by Dio, who applies it to his consolication of the government, to the following the contract of t

it seeure for the time to come against such disasters, as far as could be effected by human foresight A great number of public buildings were erected by him, the mest considerable of which were a forum,1 containing the temple of Mars the Avenger, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, and the temple of Jupiter Tenans in the capitol The reason of his building a new forum was the vast increase in the population, and the number of eauses to be tried in the courts, for which, the two already existing not affording sufficient space, it was thought necessary to have a third It was therefore opened for public use before the temple of Mars was completely finished; and a law was passed, that causes should be tried, and judges chesen by lot, in that place The temple of Mars was built in fulfilment of a vew made during the war of Philippi, undertaken by him to avenge his father's murder He ordained that the senate should always assemble there when they met to deliberate respecting wars and triumphs, that thenee should be despatched all these who were sent into the previnces in the command of armies, and that in it these who returned victorious from the wars, should ledge the trophies of their triumphs He erected the temple of Apelle in that part of his house on the Palatine hill which had been struck with lightning, and which, on that account, the seethsayers declared the God to have chosen He added portices to it, with a library of Latin and Greek authors, and when advanced in years,

lowing effect "That Rome, which I found built of mud, I shall leave

you firm as a rock "-Dio lvi p 589

1 The same motive which engaged Julius Cæsar to build a new forum, induced Augustus to erect another See his life c xx It stood behind the present churches of St Adrian and St Luke, and was almost parallel with the public forum, but there are no traces of it remaining. The temple of Mars Ultor, adjoining, has been mentioned before, p 84

The temple of the Palatine Apoilo stood, according to Biauchini, a little beyond the triumphal arch of Titus—It appears, from the reverse of a medal of Augustus, to have been a rotondo, with an open portico, something like the temple of Vesta—The statues of the fifty daughters of Danae surrounded the portico, and opposite to them were their husbands on horseback—In this temple were preserved some of the finest works of the Greek artists, both in sculpture and painting—Here, in the presence of Augustus, Hornce's Carmen Seculare was sung by twenty-seven noble youths and as many virgins—And here, as our author informs us, Augustus, towards the end of his reign, often assembled the senate—It is brary adjoined the temple, and was under the protection of

used frequently there to hold the senate, and examine the rolls of the judges.

He dedicated the temple to Apollo Tonans, in acknowledgement of his escape from a great danger in his Cantabrian capedition when as he was traveling in the night, his litter was struck by lightning which killed the slave who carried a torch before him. He likewise constructed some public buildings in the name of others for instance, his grandsons, his wife, and state. Thus he built the portice and basilies of Lucius and Caius, and the portices of Livia and Octavia, and the theatre of Marcellus. He also often exhacted other persons of rank to embelshe the city by now buildings, or repairing and improving the old according to their means. In consequence of this recommendation many were nised such as the temple of Hercules and the Muses, by Marceus Philippus a temple of Diana by Lucius Carniferra the Court of Freedom by Asinius Polho a temple of Satura by Muncius Plancos of thesito by Carnelius Balbus. an amphithesire by Sitalius Taurus and several other noble edificies by Marcus Agrippe

Apollo. Calus Julius Hegenus, a freedman of Augustus, and an eminent

grammarian, was the librarian.

The three finted Confuthing columns of white muchls which stand on the declirity of the Captiolise bill, are commonly supposed to be the remains of the temple of Jupiter Tosans, erected by Augustas. Part of the friend and counter are statched to them, which with the captian of the columns are finely wrought. Suctoolise stells on on what occasion this temple was erected. Of all the cythiets given to Jupiter some conveyed more terror to supportitions under them that of the Thausdayer—

Corlo tonantem credidimus Jorem Regnara.—Hor I III. Ode 5

We shall floot this temple mentioned again in a rai, of the life of Augusta.

The Fortion of Octavia stood between the Faminian eriem and the theatre of Marcellos, enclosing the temples of Jupiter and Juno, said to have been belt in the time of the republic. Several results of them exist is the Precheria or fish-sarket they were of the Coristhian order and have been traced and exgraved by Funnal.

The magnificent thetire of Marcellon was built on the site where Sociolies has before informed in that Jollen Clears intended to erect own [p. 30]. It stood between the portice of Octavia and the hill of the capito. Angustus gare it the name of his sephery Mercellon, though he was then dead. He rubes are still to be seen in the Piazza Moutanara, where the Ornio family have a palace created on the site.

<sup>4</sup> The theatre of Balbus was the third of the three permanent theatres of Rome. Those of Pourpev and Marcellus have been already mentioned.
<sup>5</sup> Among these ware, at least, the soble portice, if not the whole of the

XXX He divided the city into regions and districts, ordaming that the annual magistrates should take by lot the charge of the former, and that the latter should be super-intended by wardens chosen out of the people of each neigh-bourhood. He appointed a nightly watch to be on their guard egainst accidents from fire, and, to prevent the frequent in-undations, he widened and cleansed the bed of the Tiber, which had in the course of years been almost dammed up with rubbish. and the channel narrowed by the ruins of houses 1 To render the approaches to the city more commodious, he took upon himself the charge of repairing the Flaminian way as far as Ariminum,2 and distributed the repairs of the other roads amongst several persons who had obtained the honour of a triumph, to be defrayed out of the money arising from the spoils of war Temples decayed by time, or destroyed by file, he either repaired or rebuilt, and enriched them, as well as many others, with splendid offerings On a single occasion, he deposited in the cell of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, sixteen thousand pounds of gold, with jewels and pearls to the amount of fifty millions of sesterces

XXXI. The office of Pontifex Maximus, of which he could

Pantheon, still the pride of Rome, under the name of the Rotondo, on the frieze of which may be seen the inscription,

## M AGRIPPA L Y COS TERTIUM FECIT

Agrippa also built the temple of Neptune, and the portico of the Argonauts

To whatever extent Augustus may have cleared out the bed of the Tiber, the process of its being encumbered with an alluvium of ruins and mud has been constantly going on Not many years ago, a scheme was set on foot for clearing it by private enterprise, principally for the sake of

the valuable remains of art which it is supposed to contain

The Via Flaminia was probably undertaken by the censor Caius Flaminius, and finished by his son of the same name, who was consul and costs, and employed his soldiers in forming it after subduing the Ligurians. It led from the Flumentan gate, now the Porta del Popolo, through Etruria and Umbria into the Cisalpine Gaul, ending at Ariminum, the frontier town of the territories of the republic, now Rimini, on the Adriatic, and is travelled by every tourist who takes the route, north of the Appenines, through the States of the Church, to Rome Every one knows that the great highways, not only in Italy but in the provinces, were among the most magnificer t and enduring works of the Roman people.

not decently deprive Lepidus as long as he lived 'he assumed as soon as he was dead. He then caused all prophetical books, both in Latin and Greek, the authors of which were either un known or of no creat authority to be brought in and the whole collection, amounting to upwards of two thousand volumes, he committed to the flames, preserving only the Sibviline oracles but not even those without a strict examina tion, to ascertain which were genuine. This being done he deposited them in two gilt coffers, under the pedestal of the statue of the Palatine Apollo He restored the calendar which had been corrected by Julius Casair but through negligence was again fallon into confusion to its former regularity and upon that occasion called the month Sextilis, by his own name, August, rather than September in which he was born because in it he had obtained his first consulship and all his most considerable victories.\* He increased the number dig nity and revenues of the priests, and especially those of the Vestal Virgins. And when, upon the death of one of them a new one was to be taken, and many persons made interest that their daughters names might be omitted in the lists for election, he replied with an oath If either of my own grand daughters were old enough, I would have proposed her

He likewise revived some old religious customs, which had become obsolete as the augury of public health \* the office of

<sup>1</sup> It had formed a sort of bosourable retirement in which Lepinus was abstract on a familiar repression, when Augustus gut did of his quiety from the Trianvirste. Augustus sessuaed it AUC 740, thus centring the last of all this great offices of the state in his own person; that of Poutfex Maximum, being of high importance, from the sanetty attached to it, and the indionece it gave him over the whole system of religion.

In the thirty six years since the calendar was corrected by Julius Constr. the priests had erroseously intercalated cleven days instead of

nine. See Junius, c. xl.

<sup>3</sup> Sextills, the sixth month, recknning from March, in which the year of Rossulus commenced.

So Cleero called the day on which he returned from exile, the day of his "nativity" and his "new birth, "A hypersein" a word which had atterwards a theological some from its use in the New Testament.

are were a rescongers some, rore in the word here adopted by Santonian; Capt. There is a peculiar force in the word here adopted by Santonian; the form used by the Postifics Maximum, when he took the norice from the hand of her father being Tr capte swerts, "I have you, my den," implying the fortible breach of former ites, as in the case of a captive taken in war

At times when the temple of Janus was shut, and then only certain

high priest of Jupiter, the religious solemnity of the Lupercalia, with the Secular, and Compitalian games. He prohibited young boys from running in the Lupercalia, and in respect of the Secular games, issued an order, that no young persons of either sex should appear at any public diversions in the night-time, unless in the company of some elderly relation. He ordered the household gods to be decked twice a year with spring and summer flowers, in the Compitalian festival

Next to the immortal gods, he paid the highest honours to the memory of those generals who had raised the Roman state from its low origin to the highest pitch of grandeur. He accordingly repaired or rebuilt the public edifices erected by them, preserving the former inscriptions, and placing statues of them all, with triumphal emblems, in both the porticos of his forum, issuing an edict on the occasion, in which he made the following declaration "My design in so doing is, that the Roman people may require from me, and all succeeding princes, a conformity to those illustrious examples" He likewise removed the statue of Pompey from the senate-house, in which Caius Cæsar had been killed, and placed it under a marble arch, fronting the palace attached to Pompey's theatre

XXXII He corrected many ill practices, which, to the detriment of the public, had either survived the licentious habits of the late civil wars, or else originated in the long peace Bands of robbers shewed themselves openly, completely armed, under colour of self-defence, and in different parts of the country, travellers, freemen and slaves without distinction, were forcibly earried off, and kept to work in the houses of correction <sup>2</sup> Several associations were formed under the specious

divinations were made, preparatory to solemn supplication for the public health, "as if," says Dio, "even that could not be implored from the gods, unless the signs were propitious". It would be an inquiry of some interest, now that the care of the public health is becoming a department of the state, with what sanatory measures these becoming solemnities were attended

1 Theophrastus mentions the spring and summer flowers most suited for these chaplets. Among the former, were hyacinths, roses, and white violets, among the latter, lychims, amarvlhs, iris, and some species of lilies.

<sup>2</sup> Ergastulis These were subterranean strong rooms, with narrow windows, like dungeons, in the country houses, where incorrigible slaves were

name of a now college, which banded together for the perpetration of all kinds of villany The banditti he quelled by establishing posts of soldiers in suitable stations for the purpose the houses of correction were subjected to a strict superintend all, associations, those only excepted which were of ancient standing and recognised by the laws, were dissolved. He burnt all the notes of those who had been a long time in ar rear with the treasury as being the principal source of vexations suits and prosecutions. Places in the city claimed by the public, where the right was doubtful he adjudged to the actual possessors. He struck out of the list of criminals the names of those over whom prosecutions had been long impending, where nothing further was intended by the informers than to gratify their own malice, by seeing their enemies humiliated; laying it down as a rule that if any one chose to renew a proscoution, he should incur the risk of the punishment which he sought to inflict. And that crimes might not escape punish ment, nor business be neglected by delay he ordered the courts to sit during the thirty days which were spent in celebrating honorary games. To the three classes of judges then existing, he added a fourth, consisting of persons of inferior order who were called Duessaru, and decided all littlentions about triffing sums. He chose judges from the ago of thirty years and upwards that is five years younger than had been usual before. And a great many declining the office, he was with much diffi culty provailed upon to allow each class of judges a twelvemonth a vacation in turn and the courts to be shut during the months of November and Docember 1

XXIII He was himself amiduous in his functions as a judge, and would sometimes prolong his sittings even into the night. If he were independed, his litter was placed before

confined in fetters, in the intervals of the severe tasks in grinding at the hand mills, quarrying stones, drawing water and other hard agricultural labour in which they were employed.

<sup>3</sup> Cautes are mentiosed, the hearing of which was so protracted that Figure were required in the court; and sometimes they lasted, we are told, as long as cleven or twelve days.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There mouths were not only the Long Vacation" of the lawyers, but during them there was a general constitut of besiness at Rome; the calendar exhibiting a constant succession of festivats. The month of December in particular was depoted to pleasure and relaxation.

high priest of Jupiter, the religious solemnity of the Lupercalia, with the Secular, and Compitalian games. He prohibited young boys from running in the Lupercalia, and in respect of the Secular games, issued an order, that no young persons of either sex should appear at any public diversions in the night-time, unless in the company of some elderly relation He ordered the household gods to be decked twice a year with spring and summer flowers, in the Compitalian festival

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XXXII He corrected many ill practices, which, to the detriment of the public, had either survived the licentious habits of the late civil wars, or else originated in the long peace Bands of robbers shewed themselves openly, completely armed, under colour of self-defence, and in different parts of the country, travellers, freemen and slaves without distinction, were forcibly carried off, and kept to work in the houses of correction <sup>2</sup> Several associations were formed under the specious

divinations were made, preparatory to solemn supplication for the public health, "as if," says Dio, "even that could not be implored from the gods, unless the signs were propitious". It would be an inquiry of some interest, now that the care of the public health is becoming a department of the state, with what sanatory measures these becoming solemnities were attended

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Theophrastus mentions the spring and summer flowers most suited for these chaplets. Among the former, were hyacinths, roses and white violets, among the latter, lychinis, amarvllis, iris, and some species of lilies.

These were subterranean strong rooms, with narrow windows, like dungeons, in the country houses, where incorrigible slaves were

name of a new college which banded together for the perpetration of all kinds of villany The banditta he quelled by establishing posts of soldiers in suitable stations for the purpose the houses of correction were subjected to a strict superintend ence all, associations, those only excepted which were of ancient standing and recognised by the laws, were dissolved. He burnt all the notes of those who had been a long time in ar rear with the treasury as being the principal source of vexitious suits and prosecutions. Places in the city claimed by the public, where the right was doubtful, he adjudged to the actual possessors. He struck out of the list of criminals the names of those over whom prosecutions had been long impending, where nothing further was intended by the informers than to gratify their own malice, by seeing their enemies humilisted laying it down as a rule that if any one chose to renew a prosecution, he should mour the risk of the punishment which he sought to inflict. And that crimes might not escape punishment, nor business be neglected by delay he ordered the courts to sit during the thirty days which were spent in celebrating honorary games. To the three classes of judges then existing he added a fourth, consisting of persons of inferior order who were called Ducenary, and decided all litigations about trifling sums. He chose judges from the age of thirty years and upwards; that is five years younger than had been usual before, And a great many declining the office, hu was with much diffi oulty prevailed upon to allow each class of judges a twelvemonth a vacation in turn and the courts to be shut during the months of November and December !

VXXIII He was himself assiduous in his functions as a judge, and would sometimes prolong his sittings even into the night <sup>3</sup> if he were indusposed, has litter was placed before

confined in fetters, in the intervals of the severe tasks in grinding at the hand-mills, quarrying stones, drawing water and other hard agricultural latour is which they were employed.

These meaths were not only "the Long Vacation" of the lawyers, but during them there was a greend censuion of business at Rome; the calendar culbiding a constant succession of fertivals. The month of December in particular was devoted to pleasure and relaxation.

the tribunal, or he administered justice reclining on his couch at home, displaying always not only the greatest attention, but extreme lenity. To save a culprit, who evidently appeared guilty of parriede, from the extreme penalty of being sewn up in a sack, because none were punished in that manner but such as confessed the fact, he is said to have interrogated him thus. "Surely you did not kill your father, did you?" And when, in a trial of a cause about a forged will, all those who had signed it were liable to the penalty of the Cornelian law, he ordered that his colleagues on the tribunal should not only be furnished with the two tablets by which they decided, "guilty or not guilty," but with a third likewise, ignoring the offence of those who should appear to have given their signatures through any deception or mistake. All appeals in causes between inhabitants of Rome, he assigned every year to the prætor of the city, and where provincials were concerned, to men of consular rank, to one of whom the business of each province was referred.

XXXIV Some laws he abrogated, and he made some new ones, such as the sumptuary law, that relating to adultery and the violation of chastity, the law against bribery in elections, and likewise that for the encouragement of marriage. Having been more severe in his reform of this law than the rest, he found the people utterly averse to submit to it, unless the penalties were abolished or mitigated, besides allowing an interval of three years after a wife's death, and increasing the premiums on marriage. The equestrian order clamoured loudly, at a spectacle in the theatre, for its total repeal, whereupon he sent for the children of Germanicus, and shewed them partly sitting upon his own lap, and partly on their father's, intimating by his looks and gestures, that they ought not to think it a grievance to follow the example of that young man. But finding that the force of the law was eluded, by marrying girls under the age of puberty, and by frequent change of wives, he limited the time for consummation after espeusals, and imposed restrictions on divorce

XXXV By two separate scrutimes he reduced to their former number and splendour the senate, which had been awamped by a disorderly crowd, for they were now more than a

thousand, and some of them very moan persons, who, after Crear's death had been chosen by dint of interest and bribery so that they had the nickname of Orcini among the people.1 The first of these scrutinies was left to themselves, each senator naming another but the last was conducted by himself and Agrippa. On this occasion he is believed to have taken his seat as he promided, with a cost of mail under his tunic, and a sword by his side, and with ten of the stoutest men of senatorial rank. who were his friends, standing round his chair Cordus Cremutus' relates that no senator was suffered to approach him, except singly and after having his bosom searched for secreted doggers] Some he obliged to have the grace of declining the office these he allowed to retain the privileges of wearing the distinguishing dress, occupying the scats at the solemn spec-tacles, and of feasting publicly reserved to the sonatorial order. That those who were chosen and approved of, might perform their functions under more solumn obligations, and with less inconvenience, he ordered that every sensior before he took his scat in the house, should pay his de ctions, with an offering of frankincense and wine, at the alter of that God in whose temple the senate then assembled, and that their stated meetings should be only twee in the month, namely on the calends and ides and that in the months of September and October a certain number only chosen by lot, such as the law required to give validity to a decree, should be required to attend. For humself, he resolved to choose every six

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Oreini. They were also called Charonlies, the point of the arresum being that they over their electation to a dead man coe who was gone to Oreas, amonly Jolina Gener after whose death Mark Autony introduced into the sectate many persons of low rank who were designated for that bosoon is a document left by the deceased emperor.
<sup>1</sup> Cardias Crewellow write a History of the Chriff Warn, and the Theory

Cordus Cremutius wrote a History of the Civil Wars, and the There of Augustus as we are informed by Dao, 6, 52.

In frost of the orobestra.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The senate usually assembled in one of the temples, and there was an altar consecuted to some god in the carrie where they otherwise met, as that to Vetory in the Julian Curia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> To allow of their absence during the violage, always an important season in rural affairs in wise-growing countries. In the middle and south of Italy it begins in September and, in the worst aspects, the grapes are greatenly cleared before the end of October. In cleared duriness they burg on the trees, as we have a wisconced, till the most hot Avorence and the countries of the property of

months a new council, with whom he might consult previously upon such affairs as he judged proper at any time to lay before the full senate. He also took the votes of the senators upon any subject of importance, not according to custom, nor in legular older, but as he pleased, that every one might hold himself ready to give his opinion, rather than a mere vote of assent

XXXVI He also made several other alterations in the management of public affairs, among which were these following that the acts of the senate should not be published, that the magistrates should not be sent into the provinces immediately after the expiration of their office, that the proconsuls should have a certain sum assigned them out of the treasury for mules and tents, which used before to be contracted for by the government with private persons, that the management of the treasury should be transferred from the city quæstors to the prætors, or those who had already served in the latter office, and that the decemvirishould call together the court of One hundred, which had been formerly summoned by those who had filled the office of quæstor

XXXVII To augment the number of persons employed in the administration of the state, he devised several new offices, such as surveyors of the public buildings, of the roads, the aqueducts, and the bed of the Tiber, for the distribution of corn to the people, the præfecture of the city, a triumvirate for the election of the senators, and another for inspecting the several troops of the equestrian order, as often as it was necessary. He revived the office of censor, which had been long disused, and increased the number of prætors. He likewise required that whenever the consulship was conferred on him, he should have two colleagues instead of one, but his pro-

Julius Cæsar had introduced the contrary practice See Julius, c vv. 2 A u c 312, two magistrates were created, under the name of Censors, whose office at first, was to take an account of the number of the people, and the value of their estates. Power was afterwards granted them to inspect the morals of the people, and from this period the office became of great importance. After Sylla, the election of censors was intermitted for about seventeen years. Under the emperors, the office of censor was abolished, but the chief functions of it were exercised by the emperors themselves, and frequently both with coprice and severity.

posal was rejected, all the senators declaring by acclamation that he aboted his high majesty quite enough in not filling the office alone and consenting to share it with another

XXXVIII. He was unsparing in the reward of military merit, having granted to above thirty generals the honour of the greater triumph besides which, he took care to have tri amphal decorations voted by the senate for more than that number That the sons of sensiors might become early so quainted with the administration of affairs, he permitted them, at the age when they took the garb of manhood, to assume also the distinction of the senstonen robe, with its broad border and to be present at the debates in the senate-house. When they entered the military service, he not only gave them the rank of military tribunes in the legions, but likewise the com mand of the auxiliary horse. And that all might have an opportunity of acquiring military experience, he commonly joined two sons of senators in command of each troop of horse. He frequently reviewed the troops of the equestrian order reviving the ancient custom of a cavalcade," which had been long laid aside. But he did not suffer any one to be obliged by an accuser to dismount while he passed in review as had formerly been the practice. As for such as were infirm with ago, or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Young men until they were serenteen years of age, and young women until they were married, wore a white rode bordered with perple, called Thys Treeferts. The former, when they had completed this period, laid saids the dress of misority and assumed the Tipse Fritis, or manibalist. The ceremony of changing the Tipse was performed with great solemnly before the images of the Laws, to whom the Balle was conserved. On this occasion, they went either to the Capitol, or to some

temple to pay their deresions to the Gods.

3 Transverie's a procession of the repositions order which they modwith great aplendour through the city every year on the differential Jul They rode on horseback from the temple of lineaur or of Mars, without the city to the Capitol, with wreaths of olive on their beads, densed in robes of scarlet, and bearing in their bands the milliary ornaments which they had received from their greens, as a reward of their valour. The highes rode up to the ceases earled on his camble chair in front of the Capitol, and dismonating led their barces in review before him. If any of the halphts was corrupt in his morth, had disminished his fortune below the legal standard, or earle had not taken proper care of his hones, the ceaser oreleved him to sell his horse, by which he was considered as de-randed from the consertion order.

any way deformed, he allowed them to send their horses before them, coming on foot to answer to their names, when the muster roll was called over soon afterwards. He permitted those who had attained the age of thirty-five years, and desired not to keep their horse any longer, to have the privilege of giving it up

XXXIX With the assistance of ten senators, he obliged each of the Roman knights to give an account of his life—in regard to those who fell under his displeasure, some were punished, others had a mark of infamy set against their names. The most part he only reprimanded, but not in the same terms—The mildest mode of reproof was by delivering them tablets, the contents of which, confined to themselves, they were to read on the spot—Some he disgraced for borrowing money at low interest, and letting it out again upon usurious profit

XL In the election of tribunes of the people, if there was not a sufficient number of senatorian candidates, he nominated others from the equestrian order, granting them the liberty, after the expiration of their office, to continue in whichsoever of the two orders they pleased. As most of the knights had been much reduced in their estates by the civil wars, and therefore durst not sit to see the public games in the theatre in the seats allotted to their order, for fear of the penalty provided by the law in that case, he enacted, that none were hable to it, who had themselves, or whose parents had ever, possessed a knight's estate. He took the census of the Roman people street by street and that the people might not be too often taken from their business to receive the distribution of corn it was his intention to deliver tickets three times a year for four months respectively, but at their request, he continued the former regulation, that they should receive their

Γεαψας εν πει ακι πτυετφ θυμοφθορα -ολλα Writing dire things upon his tablet's roll

<sup>1</sup> Pugillaria were a kind of pocket book, so called, because memorandums were written or impinged by the styli on their waxed sirface. They appear to have been of very ancient origin, for we read o' them in Homer under the name of  $\Pi \iota \nu a \kappa \iota \varsigma$ —Il  $\zeta$  169

share monthly He revived the former law of elections, en deavouring by various penalties, to suppress the practice of bribery Upon the day of election, he distributed to the freemen of the Fahan and Scaptian tribes, in which he himself was enrolled, a thousand sestences each, that they might look for nothing from any of the candidates. Considering it of extreme importance to preserve the Roman people pure, and un tainted with a mixture of foreign or service blood he not only bestowed the freedom of the city with a sparing hand, but had some restriction upon the procise of manumiting alares. When Tiberus interceded with him for the freedom of Rome in bohalf of a Greek ellent of his, he wrote to him for nurser

I shall not grant it, unless he comes humself, and satisfies me that he has just grounds for the application. And when Livia begged the freedom of the city for a tributary Gaul, he refused it, but offered to release him from payment of taxes, saying. I shall sooner suffer some lose in my exchequer than that the citizenship of Rome be rendered too common. Not content with interposing many obtacles to either the partial or complete emancipation of slaves, by quibbles respecting the number condition and difference of those who were to be manunitted; he likewise enacted that none who had been put in chains or tortured, should sver obtain the freedom of the city many degree. He endeavoured also to restore the old habit and dress of the Romans and upon sening once, in an assembly of the people, a crowd in grey cloaks, he exclaimed with in dignation. See there

Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatem 179

Rome's conquering sons, lords of the wide-spread globe. Stalk proudly in the togs's graceful robe.

And he gave orders to the ediles not to permit, in future any Roman to be present in the forum or circus unless they took off their short coats, and wore the togn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pradictorws; dusly eliber from their dark colour or their leign south. The toca was white, and was the distinguishing continue of the avereign people of Rome without which, they were so to appear in the second of the regime of an universit are forbidden to do so, without the facility, or ordicers in garrinous out of their regimeratials.

XLI He displayed his munificence to all ranks of the people on various occasions. Moreover, upon his bringing the treasure belonging to the kings of Egypt into the city, in his Alexandrian triumph, he made money so plentiful, that interest fell, and the price of land rose considerably. And afterwards, as often as large sums of money came into his possession by means of confiscations, he would lend it free of interest, for a fixed term, to such as could give security for the double of what was borrowed. The estate necessary to qualify a senator, instead of eight hundred thousand sesterces, the former standard, he ordered, for the future, to be twelve hundred thousand, and to those who had not so much, he made good the deficiency. He often made donations to the people, but generally of different sums, semetimes four hundred, semetimes three hundred, or two hundred and fifty sesterces upon which occasions, he extended his bounty even to young boys, who before were not used to receive anything, until they arrived at eleven years of age. In a scarcity of corn, he would frequently let them have it at a very low price, or none at all, and doubled the number of the money tickets.

XLII But to show that he was a prince who regarded more the good of his people than their applause, he reprimanded them very severely, upon their complaining of the scarcity and dearness of wine "My son-in law, Agrippa," he said, "has sufficiently provided for quenching your thirst, by the great plenty of water with which he has supplied the town" Upon their demanding a gift which he had promised them, he said, "I am a man of my word" But upon their importuning him for one which he had not promised, he issued a proclamation ubpraiding them for their scandalous impudence, at the same time telling them, "I shall now give you nothing, whatever I may have intended to do" With the same strict firmness, when, upon a promise he had made of a donative, he found many slaves had been emancipated and enrolled amongst the citizens, he declared that no one should receive anything who was not included in the promise, and he gave the rest less than he had promised them, in order that the amount he had set apart might hold out On one occasion, in a season of great scarcity, which it was difficult to remedy, he ordered out of the city the troops of slaves brought for sale, the gladi-

stors belonging to the masters of defence, and all foreigners, exc. iting physicians and the teachers of the liberal extentors. First of the domestic slaves were liknows ordered to be dissinct. When at lest, plenty was restored he writes thus: "I was much melined to abound for ever the practice of all lowing the people corn at the public expense, because they trust so much to it, that they are too lasy to till their lands but I did not persorere in my design, as I felt sure that the practice would some time or other be revived by some one am bitious of popular favour." However he so managed the affair ever afterwards, that as much account was taken of husbandmen and traders, as of the idle populace."

XLUL In the number variety and magnificence of his public spectacion, he surpassed all former example. Four-and twenty times, he says, he treated the people with games upon his own account, and three-and twenty times for such magnatraics as were either absent, or not able to afford the expense The performances took place sometimes in the different streets of the city and upon several stages, by players in all lan guages. The same he did not only in the forum and amphi theatre, but m the circus likewise, and in the septa and sometimes he exhibited only the hunting of wild beasts. He entertained the people with wrestlers in the Campus Martius, where wooden seats were erected for the purpose and also with a naval fight, for which he excavated the ground near the Tiber where there is now the grove of the Ossars. During these two entertainments he stationed guards in the city, lest, by robbers taking advantage of the small number of people left at home, it might be exposed to depredations. In the circus he exhibited charlot and foot races, and combats with wild beasts, in which the performers were often youths of the highest rank His favourite spectacle was the Trojan game, acted by a select number of boys, in parties differing in age and station think

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It is hardly seconary to direct the exercial reader's attention to views of political economy so worthy of an enlightened prince. But it was easier to make the Roman people wear the togu, then to forego the cry of "Process et Girceases."

Style were enclosures made with boards, commonly for the purpow of distributing the people into distinct classes and crected occasionally has our heating.

ing that it was a practice both excellent in itself, and sanctioned by ancient usage, that the spirit of the young nobles should be displayed in such exercises. Caius Nonius Asprenas, who was lamed by a fall in this diversion, he presented with a gold collar, and allowed him and his posterity to bear the surname of Torquati. But soon afterwards he gave up the exhibition of this game, in consequence of a severe and bitter speech made in the senate by Asinius Pollio, the orator, in which he complained bitterly of the misfortune of Æserninus, his grandson, who likewise broke his leg in the same diversion.

Sometimes he engaged Roman knights to act upon the stage, or to fight as gladiators, but only before the practice was prohibited by a decree of the senate. Thenceforth, the only exhibition he made of that kind, was that of a young man named Lucius, of a good family, who was not quite two feet in height, and weighed only seventeen pounds, but had a stentorian voice. In one of his public spectacles, he brought the hostages of the Parthians, the first ever sent to Rome from that nation, through the middle of the amphitheatre, and placed them in the second tier of seats above him. He used likewise, at times when there were no public entertainments, if any thing was brought to Rome which was uncommon, and might gratify curiosity, to expose it to public view, in any place whatever, as he did a rhinoceros in the Septa, a tiger upon a stage, and a snake fifty cubits long in the Comitium. It happened in the Circensian games, which he performed in consequence of a vow, that he was taken ill, and obliged to attend the Thensæ, reclining on a litter. Another time, in the games celebrated for the opening of the theatre of Marcellus, the joints of his curule chair happening to give way, he fell on his back. And in the games exhibited by his

The Thensa was a splendid carriage with four wheels, and four horses, adorned with ivory and silver, in which, at the Circensian games, the images of the gods were drawn in solemn procession from their shrines, to a place in the circus, called the Pulvinar, where couches were prepared for their reception. It received its name from thongs (lora tensa) stretched before it, and was attended in the procession by persons of the first rank, in their most magnificent apparel. The attendants took delight in putting their hands to the traces and if a boy happened to let go the thong which he held, it was an indispensable rule that the procession should be renewed.

grandsons, when the people were in such consternation, by an alarm rused that the theatre was falling that all his efforts to re-casure them and keep them quiet, failed, he moved from his place and seated himself in that part of the theatre which was thought to be exposed to most danger

XLIV He corrected the confusion and disorder with which the spectators took their sents at the public games, after an affront which was offered to a senstor at Putcoli, for whom, in a crowded theatre, no one would make room He therefore procured a decree of the senate, that in all public spectacles of any sort, and m any place whatever the first tier of benches should be left empty for the accommodation of senators. He would not even permit the ambassadors of free nations, nor of those which were allies of Rome, to at in the orchestra having found that some manumitted slaves had been sent under that character. He separated the soldiery from the rest of the people, and assigned to married plobelans their particular rows of sects. To the boys he assigned their own benches, and to their tutors the seats which were nearest it ordering that none clothed in black should at in the centre of the circle. Nor would be allow any women to witness the combats of gladutors, except from the upper part of the theatre, although they formerly used to take their places promisonously with the rest of the spectators. To the vestal virgins he granted seats in the theatre, reserved for them only opposite the pretor's beach. He excluded. however the whole female sex from seeing the wrestlers so that in the games which he exhibited upon his accession to the office of high priest, he deferred producing a pair of combatants which the people called for until the next morning and intimated by proclamation, his pleasure that no woman should appear in the theatre before five o clock."

XLV He generally viewed the Circuman games himself, from the upper rooms of the houses of his friends or freedmen sometimes from the place appointed for the statues of the gods, and sitting in company with his wife and children.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Cares was the name of the whole of that part of the theatre where the spectators axt. The foremost rows were called evero prime, or see, the last, evere utilize, or summe; and the middle, owner wells.

kings in alliance with Rome, he encouraged most intimate union, being always ready to promote or favour any proposal of marriage or friendship amonst them, and, indeed, treated them all with the same consideration, as if they were members and parts of the empire. To such of them as were minors or lunatics he appointed guardians, until they arrived at age, or recovered their senses, and the sons of many of them he brought up and educated with his own

XLIX. With respect to the army, he distributed the legions and auxiliary troops throughout the several provinces He stationed a fleet at Misenum, and another at Ravenna, for the protection of the Upper and Lower Seas 1. A certain number of the forces were selected, to occupy the posts in the city, and partly for his own body-guard, but he dismissed the Spanish guard, which he retained about him till the fall of Antony, and also the Germans, whom he had amongst his guards uptil the defeat of Varias. Not he payer permitted a guards, until the defeat of Varus Yet he never permitted a greater force than three cohorts in the city, and had no (prætorian) camps <sup>2</sup> The rest he quartered in the neighbourhood of the nearest towns, in winter and summer camps All the troops throughout the empire he reduced to one fixed model with regard to their pay and their pensions, determining these according to their rank in the army, the time they had served, and their private means, so that after their discharge, they might not be tempted by age or necessities to join the agitators for a revolution. For the purpose of providing a fund always ready to meet their pay and pensions, he instituted a military exchequer, and appropriated new taxes to that object. In order to obtain the earliest intelligence of what was passing in the provinces, he established posts, consisting at first of young men stationed at moderate disor what was passing in the provinces, he established posts, consisting at first of young men stationed at moderate distances along the military roads, and afterwards of regular couriers with fast vehicles, which appeared to him the most commodious, because the persons who were the bearers of dispatches, written on the spot, might then be questioned about the business, as occasion occurred

L In sealing letters-patent, rescripts, or epistles, he at first used the figure of a sphinx, afterwards the head of Alexander

<sup>1</sup> The Adriatic and the Tuscan

<sup>2</sup> It was first established by Tiberius See c xxxvii

the Great, and a last his own, engraved by the hand of Dioser rides which protine was retained by the succeeding emperors He was extremely precise in dating his letters, pating down exscily the time of the day or night at which they were dispatched

LL Of his elemency and moderation there are abundant and signal instances. For, not to enumerate how many and what persons of the adverse party he pardoned, received into favour and suffered to noe to the highest eminence in the state he thought it sufficient to punish Junius Novatus and Cassus Patavinus, who were both plebenans, one of them with a fine, and the other with an easy banishment although the former had published, in the name of young Agrippe, a very courrilous letter against him, and the other declared openly at an entertainment where there was a great deal of company he neither wanted inclination nor courage to stab him. the trial of Æmihus Æhanus, of Oordova, when, among other charges exhibited against him it was particularly in sisted upon, that he used to calmanate Ocean he turned round to the acceser and said, with an air and tone of passion, ' I wish you could make that appear, I shall let Allianus know that I have a tongue too and shall speek sharper of him than he ever did of me." Nor did he, either then or afterwards, make any farther inquiry into the affair And when Tiberius, in a letter complained of the affront with great cornestness, he returned him an answer in the following torms 'Do not, my dear Tiberrus, give way to the ardonr of youth in this affair nor be so indignant that any person should speak ill of me. It is enough for us, if we can prevent any one from really dome us muchief

LII Although he knew that it had been customary to decree temples in hanour of the preconsuls, yet he would not per mit them to be erected in any of the provinces, unless in the joint names of himself and Rome. Within the limits of the city he positively refused any honour of that kind. Ho melted down all the silver statues which had been erosted to him, and converted the whole into tripods, which he consecrated to the Pulatino Apollo. And when the people im portuned him to accept the dictatorship, he bent down on one ance with his toga thrown over his shoulders, and his breast exposed to ricer begging to be excussed.

LIII He always abhorred the title of Lord, as ill-omened and offensive And when, in a play, performed at the theatre, at which he was present, these words were introduced, "O just and gracious lord," and the whole company, with joyful acelamations, testified their approbation of them, as applied to him, he instantly put a stop to their indecent flattery, by waving his hand, and frowning sternly, and next day publicly declared his displeasure, in a proclamation. He never afterwards would suffer himself to be addressed in that manner, even by his own children or grand-children, either in jest or earnest and forbad them the use of all such complimentary expressions to one another He rarely entered any city or town, or departed from it, except in the evening or the night, to avoid giving any person the trouble of complimenting him During his consulships, he commonly walked the streets on foot, but at other times, rode in a close carriage. He admitted to court even plebeians, in common with people of the higher ranks, receiving the petitions of those who approached him with so much affability, that he once jocosely rebuked a man, by telling him, "You present your memorial with as much hesitation as if you were offering money to an elephant" On senate days, he used to pay his respects to the Conscript Fathers only in the house, addressing them each by name as they sat, without any prompter, and on his departure, he bade each of them farewell, while they retained their seats In the same manner, he maintained with many of them a constant intercourse of mutual civilities, giving them his company upon occasions of any particular festivity in their families, until he became advanced in years, and was incommoded by the crowd at a wedding Being informed that Gallus Terrinius, a senator, with whom he had only a slight acquaintance, had suddenly lost his sight, and under that privation had resolved to starve himself to death, he paid him a visit, and by his consolatory admonitions diverted him from his purpose

LIV On his speaking in the senate, he has been told by

Tertulian, in his Apology c 34, makes the same remark. The word seems to have conveyed then, as it does in its theological sense now, the idea of Divinity, for it is coupled with Deus, God, ninquium se dominum vel deum appellare voluerit

one of the members, 'I did not understand you," and by another I would contradict you, could I do it with safety' And sometimes, upon his being so much offended at the heat with which the debates were conducted in the senate as to quit the house in anger some of the members have repeatedly exclaimed. Surely the senators ought to have liberty of speech on matters of government. Antistrus Laboo in the election of a new sonate, when each as he was named, choos another nominated Marcus Lepidus, who had formerly been Augustus's enamy and was then in bannahment and being saked by the latter. I at there no other person more deserving? he replied Every man has his own opinion. Nor was any one over molested for his freedom of speech although it was corried to the extant of insoluce.

LV Even when some infamous libels against him were dispersed in the senate-house, he was neither disturbed, nor did he give humself much trouble to refute them. He would not so much as order an esquiry to be made after the authors but only proposed, that, for the future, those who published libels or lampoons, in a borrowed name, against any person should be called to secount.

LVI Being provoked by some petulant jests, which were designed to reader him editors, he answered them by a proclamation and yet he provented the senate from possing an act, to restrain the liberties which were taken with others in people a wills. Whenever he attended at the election of mu gistrates, he went round the tribes, with the candidates of his nomination, and begged the votes of the people in the number of the people. He suffered himself to be summoned as a witness upon trials, and not only to be questioned, but to be cross-examined with the utmost patience. In building his Forum, he restricted himself in the site not presuming to compel the owners of the neighbouring houses to give up their property. He never recommended his sons to the people without adding these words. If they descrie it and upon the audience rang on their entering the theatre while they were yet minors, and girling them applies in a standing position, he made it a matter of serious complaint.

He was desirous that his friends should be great and powerful in the state, but have no exclusive privileges, or be exempt from the laws which governed others. When Asprenas Nonius, an intimate friend of his, was tried upon a charge of administering poison at the instance of Cassius Severus, he consulted the senate for their opinion what was his duty under the circumstances "For," said he, "I am afraid, lest, if I should stand by him in the cause, I may be supposed to screen a guilty man, and if I do not, to desert and prejudge a friend" With the unanimous concurrence, therefore, of the senate he took his seat amongst his advocates for several hours. friend "With the unanimous concurrence, therefore, of the senate, he took his seat amongst his advocates for several hours, but without giving him the benefit of speaking to character, as was usual. He likewise appeared for his clients, as on behalf of Scutarius, an old soldier of his, who brought an action for slander. He never relieved any one from prosecution but in a single instance, in the case of a man who had given information of the conspiracy of Muræna, and that he did only by prevailing upon the accuser, in open court, to drop his prosecution

LVII How much he was beloved for his worthy conduct in all these respects, it is easy to imagine. I say nothing of the decrees of the senate in his honour, which may seem to the decrees of the senate in his honour, which may seem to have resulted from compulsion or deference. The Roman knights voluntarily, and with one accord, always celebrated his birth for two days together, and all ranks of the people, yearly, in performance of a vow they had made, threw a piece of money into the Curtian lake, as an offering for his welfare. They likewise, on the calends [first] of January, presented for his acceptance new-year's gifts in the capitol, though he was not present with which donations he purchased some costly images of the Gods, which he creeted in several streets of the city, as that of Apollo Sandaliarius, Jupiter Tragædus, and others. When his house on the Palatine hill was accidentally destroyed by fire, the veteran soldiers, the judges, the tribus, and even the people, individually, contributed, according to the ability of each, for rebuilding it, but he would

Incre gods stood, as we now say St Peter, Cornhill, &c

<sup>1</sup> An inclosure in the middle of the Forum, marking the spot where Curtius leapt into the lake, which had been long since filled up

4 Sandalari in Trayædum, names of streets, in which temples of

accept only of some small portion out of the several sums collected, and refused to take from any one person more than a single denarius. Upon his return home from any of the provinces, they attended him not only with joyful acclamations, but with songs. It is also remarked, that as often as he entered the city the infliction of pumulament was suspended for the time.

LVIII. The whole body of the people, upon a sudden im pulse, and with unanimous consent, offered him the title of Fathers or uns Coutrary I twas announced to him first at Antium, by a deputation from the people, and upon his decilining the honour they repeated their offer on his return to Rome, in a full theatre, when they were crowned with laurel The senate soon afterwards adopted the proposed, not in the way of acclamation or decree, but by commissioning M Mossala, in an unanimous rota, to compliment him with it in the following terms. With hearty whales for the happiness and prospectly of yourself and your family Coour Augustus, (for we think we thus most effectually pury for the lasting welfare of the state), the senate, in agreement with the Roman people, salute you by the title of Fatura or row. Courry To thus compliment Augustus replied, with tears in his oyes, in these words (for I give them exactly as I have done those of Messala): Having now arrived at the summit of my wishes.

<sup>1</sup> A coia, in value about 6/4, of our money. The resets, as instituted by Roumias, comisied of one hundred members, who were called Patron, i.e. Fathers, either upon account of their say, or their paternal cure of the state. The number received some sugmentation under Tulles Hostillien; and Tarquinius Princes, the fifth king of Rome, added a hardred more, who were called Patron steares speaties of Roundian being distinguished by the name of Patron suspices grains. Those who were chosen into the senate by Brutus, after the expelsion of Tarquis the Prood, to supply the place of those whose that king had slais, were called Conservist, i. e. persons written or corrolled among the old senators, who alsoe were propert styled. Patron. Hence arose the custom of summorsing to the senate those who were Patron, and those who were Conservingly, and hence alse was apputed on the senators in general the designation of Patron Conservingle, the parallel of the height and there alse was apputed on the senators in general the designation of Patron Conservingle, the parallel of the place of senators of the conserving of the parallel of the parallel of the place of senators that the parallel of the parallel of the senators in general the designation of Patron Conservingle.

In the time of Julius Caesa the number of senators was increased to

Gods, but the continuance of this your affection for me to the last moments of my life?"

LIX To the physician Antonius Musa, who had cured him of a dangerous illness, they elected a statue near that of Esculapius, by a general subscription. Some heads of families oldered in their wills, that their heirs should lead victims to the capitol, with a tablet carried before them, and pay their vows, "Because Augustus still survived". Some Italian cities appointed the day upon which he first visited them, to be thenceforth the beginning of their year. And most of the provinces, besides erecting temples and altars, instituted games, to be celebrated to his honour, in most towns, every five years

LX The kings, his friends and allies, built cities in their respective kingdoms, to which they gave the name of Cæsarea, and all with one consent resolved to finish, at their common expense, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, at Athens, which had been begun long before, and consecrate it to his Genius They frequently also left their kingdoms, laid aside the badges of royalty, and assuming the toga, attended and paid their respects to him daily, in the manner of clients to their patrons, not only at Rome, but when he was travelling through the provinces

IXI Having thus given an account of the manner in which he filled his public offices both civil and military, and his conduct in the government of the empire, both in peace and war, I shall now describe his private and domestic life, his habits at home and among his friends and dependents, and the fortune attending him in those scenes of letirement, from his youth to the day of his death. He lost his mother in his first consulship, and his sister Octavia, when he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He behaved towards them both with the utmost kindness whilst living, and after their decease paid the highest honours to their memory.

nine hundred, and after his death to a thousand, many worthless persons having been admitted into the senate during the civil wars. Augustus afterwards reduced the number to six hundred

<sup>1</sup> Antonius Musa was a freedman and had acquired his knowledge of medicine while a domestic slave, a very common occurrence.

<sup>2</sup> A.U C 711

IA.II. He was contracted when very young to the daughter of Publius Servilius Isaurions but upon his reconciliation with Antony after their first rupture, the armies on both addes must ing on a family alliance between them he married Antony a step-daughter Claudia, the daughter of Fulrus P Publius Claudius, although at that time ane was secreely marriageable and upon a difference arating with his mether in law Fulvin he divorced her untouched, and a pure virgin. Soon after wards he took to wife Scribenia, who had before been twice married to men of commiser rank, and was a mother by one of them. With her likewise he perfed, being quite tired out, as be himself writes, with the percreases of her temper and immediately took Livia Drusulia, though then pregnant, from her husboad Tiberius Noro, and she had never any rival in his lore and esteem.

LXIII. By Soribonia he had a daughter named Juha, but no children by Livus, although extremely dearrors of struction, indeed, conceived once, but miscarried. He gave his daughter Julis in the first instance to Marcellus, his sister son, who had just completed his minority and, after his death to Marcan Agrappa, having provailed with his suster to yield her son in law to his wishes for at that time Agrappa was married to cone of the Marcellas, and had children by her Agrappa dying also, he for a long time thought of several matches for Julia in even the squestrian order and at last resolved upon selecting Thermus for his step-son and he oblighed him to part with his wife at that time pregnant, and who had already brought him a child. Mark Antony writes, That he first contracted Julia to his son, and afterwards to Cotiso king of the Gete, demanding at the same time the king a daughter in marriage for humself.

See ec. x xl. xll and xlll.

One of them was Edgio, the father of Cornella, whose death is issuested by Properties, iv 12. The other is unknown.
A.T.C. 716

<sup>4</sup> He is mentioned by Horace :

Occidit Dari Cotlaous spinen. Ode 8, b. iii.
Most probably Antony knew the importation to be unfounded and made
it for the purpose of exculse his was marriage with Cleopatra.

LXIV He had three grandsons by Agrippa and Julia, namely, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa, and two grand-daughters, Julia and Agrippina Julia he married to Lucius Paulus, the censor's son, and Agrippina to Germanicus, his sister's grandson Caius and Lucius he adopted at home, by the ceremony of purchase¹ from their father, advanced them, while yet very young, to offices in the state, and when they were consuls-elect, sent them to visit the provinces and armies. In bringing up his daughter and grand-daughters, he accustomed them to domestic employments, and even spinning, and obliged them to speak and act every thing openly before the family, that it might be put down in the diary. He so strictly prohibited them from all converse with strangers, that he once wrote a letter to Lucius Vinicius, a handsome young man of a good family, in which he told him, "You have not behaved very modestly, in making a visit to my daughter at Baiæ." He usually instructed his grandsons himself in reading, swimming, and other rudiments of knowledge, and he laboured nothing more than to perfect them in the imitation of his hand-writing. He never supped but he had them sitting at the foot of his couch, nor ever travelled but with them in a chariot before him, or riding beside him.

LXV But in the midst of all his joy and hopes in his numerous and well-regulated family, his fortune failed him. The two Julias, his daughter and grand-daughter, abandoned themselves to such courses of lewdness and debauchery, that he banished them both. Caius and Lucius he lost within the space of eighteen months, the former dying in Lycia, and the latter at Marseilles His third grandson Agrippa, with his step-son Tiberius, he adopted in the forum, by a law passed for the purpose by the sections, but he soon afterwards discarded Agrippa for his coarse and unruly temper, and confined him at Surrentum He bore the death of his relations with more patience than he did their disgrace, for he was not overwhelmed by the loss of Caius and Lucius, but in the case of his daughter, he stated the facts to the senate in a message read to them by

This form of adoption consisted in a fictitious sale See Cicero, Topic in Curiæ Romulus divided the people of Rome into three tribes, and each tribe into ten Curiæ The number of tribes was afterwards increased by degrees to thirty-five, but that of the Curiæ always remained the same.

the mustor not having the heart to be present himself indeed. he was so much ashamed of her infamous conduct, that for some time he avoided all company and had thoughts of putting her to death. It is certain that when one Phobe, a freed woman and confident of hers, hanged herself about the same time, he said. I had rather be the father of Phoebe than of Julia." In her banishment he would not allow her the use of wine, nor any luxury in dress nor would be suffer her to be waited upon by any male servant, either freeman or slave, without his permission and having received an exact account of his age stature, complexion, and what marks or scars he had about him. At the end of five years he removed her from the island [ where she was confined] to the continent, and treated her with less soverity but could never be prevailed upon to recall her When the Roman people interposed on her behalf several times with much importunity all the reply he gave was you had all such daughters and waves as she is. wise forbad a child, of which his grand-daughter Julia was delivered after sentence had pessed against her to be either owned as a relation, or brought up Agrippa, who was equally intractable, and whose folly increased every day he transport d to an island and placed a guard of soldiers about him curing at the same time an act of the senate for his confinement there during life. Upon any mention of him and the two Julius, he would say with a heavy mgh,

## All Spiler draude + Imiras, drawe + draledas.

Would I were wifeless, or had children died !

nor did he usually call them by any other name than that of his three imposthumes or cancers."

LXVI. He was cautions in forming friendables, but clung to them with great constancy not only rewarding the virtues and ments of his friends according to their deserts, but bearing likewise with their faults and vices, provided that they were

She was removed to Reggio in Calabria.

Agripps was first banished to the little desolate inland of Plansela, no Pansela. It is one of the group in the Toscan sea, between Elba and Corries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A quotation from the Ilied, 40 fil.; where Hector is venting his rays on Paris. The inflection is alightly changed, the line in the original connencing, Aid opening the conditions wert, &c.

of a venial kind. For amongst all his friends, we scarcely find any who fell into disgrice with him, except Silvidienns Rufus, whom he raised to the consul-hip, and Cornelius Gallus, whom he made prefect of Lgypt, both of them men of the lowest extraction. One of these, being engaged in plotting a rebellion, he delivered over to the senate, for condemnation, and the other, on account of his ingrateful and malicious temper, he forbad his house, and his living in any of the provinces however, Gallus, being denounced by his accusers, and senteneed by the senate, was driven to the desperate extremity of laying violent hands upon himself, he commended, indeed, the attachment to his person of those who manifested so much indignation, but he shed tears, and lamented his unhappy condition, "That I alone," said he, "cannot be allowed to resent the misconduct of my friends in such a way only as I would wish " The rest of his friends of all orders flourished during their whole lives, both in power and wealth, in the highest make of their several orders, notwithstanding some occasional lapses. For, to say nothing of others, he sometimes complained that Agrippa was hasty, and Meccins a tattler, the former having thrown up all his employments and retired to Mitylene, on suspicion of some slight coolness, and from jealousy that Marcellus received greater marks of invoir, and the latter having confidentially imparted to his wife Terentia the discovery of Murrena's conspiracy

He likewise expected from his fixeds, at their deaths as well as during their lives, some proofs of their reciprocal attachment. For though he was far from covering their property, and indeed would never accept of any legacy left him by a stranger, yet he pendered in a melanchely mood over their last words, not being able to conceal his chagrin, if in their wills they made but a slight, or no very honourable mention of him, nor his joy, on the other hand, if they expressed a grateful sense of his favours, and a hearty affection for him. And whatever legacies or shares of their property were left him by such as were parents, he used to restore to their children, either immediately, or if they were under age, upon the day of their assuming the

manly dress, or of their marriage, with interest

JAXVII As a pation and master, his behaviour in general was mild and conciliating, but when occasion required it, he

could be severe. He advanced many of his freedmen to posts of honour and great importance, as Licanus, Enceladus, and others and when his slave, Cosmus, had reflected bitterly upon him, he resented the injury no further than by putting him in fetters. When his steward, Domedes, left him to the mercy of a wild boar which suddenly attacked them while they were walking together he considered it rather a cowardice than a breach of duty and turned an occurrence of no small hazard into a jest, became there was no knavery in his steward a conduct. He put to death Proculus, one of his most favourite freedmen, for maintaining a criminal commerce with other mon a wives. He broke the legs of his secretary. Thallus, for taking a bribe of five hundred denaril to discover the contents of one of his letters. And the totor and other attendants of his son Cause, having taken adventage of his mekness and death, to give loose to their insolence and rapacity in the province he governed, he caused heavy weights to be tied about their necks, and had them thrown into a river

LXVIII. In his early youth various esperaous of an infamous character were heaped upon him. Sextus Pompey represented him with being an effeminate follow, and Al Antony with earning his adoption from his uncleby prostitution. Lactus Antony likewise Mark a brother, charges him with pollation by Casar and that, for a gratification of three hundred thousand seatences, he had submitted to Aulus Hirtins in the same way in Spein; adding, that he used to singo his legs with hurnt nut shalls, to make the hast become softer. Nay the whole concourse of the people, at some public diversions in the theatre, when the following sentence was recited, alluding to the Gallile pricet of the mother of the people; beating a drum.

Videons at claudos orbem digito temperet? See with his orb the wanton a flager play!

applied the passage to him, with great applicase.

Women called astricule the barbers, were employed in this delicate operation. It is almoded to by Javenni, in. 4 and Martial, v 61
Cybels.—Galles was either the name of a river in Phrygia, supposed to came a certain frency in those who drash of its waters, or the proper

name of the first priest of Cybele.

3 A small dram best by the 8 get or thumb, was used by the priests.
Cybele in their hardrious rites and in other orgies of a similar description.
These drams were made of fadded skin, circular in shape, so that they

LXIX That he was guilty of various acts of adultery, is not denied even by his friends, but they allege in excuse for it, that he engaged in those intrigues not from lewdness, but from policy, in order to discover more easily the designs of his enemies, through their wives Mark Antony, besides the pre-cipitate marriage of Livia, charges him with taking the wife of a man of consular rank from table, in the presence of her husband, into a bed-chamber, and bringing her again to the entertainment, with her ears very red, and her hair in great disorder that he had divorced Scribonia, for resenting too freely the excessive influence which one of his mistresses had gained over him that his friends were employed to pimp for him, and accordingly obliged both matrons and ripe virgins to strip, for a complete examination of their persons, in the same manner as if Thoranius, the dealer in slaves, had them under sale And before they came to an open rupture, he writes to him in a familiar manner, thus "Why are you changed towards me? Because I he with a queen? She is my wife. Is this a new thing with me, or have I not done so for these nine years? And do you take freedoms with Drusilla only? May health and happiness so attend you, as when you read this letter, you are not in dalliance with Tertulla, Terentilla, Rufilla, or Salvia Titiscenia, or all of them What matters it to you where, or upon whom, you spend your manly vigour '''

LXX A private entertainment which he gave, commonly called the Supper of the Twelve Gods, and at which the guests had some resemblance to the orb which, in the statues of the emperor, he is represented as holding in his hand. The populace, with the coarse humour which was permitted to vent itself freely at the spectacles, did not hesitate to apply what was said in the play of the lewd priest of Cybele, to Augustus, in reference to the scandals attached to his private character. The word cinædus, translated "wanton," might have been rendered by a word in vulgar use, the coarsest in the English language, and there is probably still more in the allusion too indelicate to be dwelt upon

I Mark Antony makes use of fondling diminutives of the names of

Tertia, Terentia, and Rufa, some of Augustus's favourities

<sup>2</sup> Δωδεκάθεος, the twelve Dn Majores, they are enumerated in two verses by Ennius —

- Juno, Vesta, M nerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars, Merourius, Josis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo

were drossed in the habit of gods and goddosses, while he per sonated Apollo hunself, affirded subject of much conversation, and was imputed to him not only by Antony in his letters, who likewise names all the parties concerned, but in the following well known anonymous verses—

> Cam primum informs condusti mema choragum, Serque done vidit Mallis, seque dons Impia dura Phochi Cesar mendada Indit, Bum nora divorum cassat utaliteria Danis se a terris tano namina declinàrunt: Feigli et saraico Japiter ipso thrucos. When Mallis hato beheki, in magied train, Turdro nortala spa twolre delites la vain; Cesar pasamed what was Apollo a dee, And wise and lost infamed the mother crew At the food light the gods avert their gree.

And from his throne great fore tadgrains files. What rendered this supper more obnaxious to public consure was, that it happened at a time when there was a great sear sity and almost a famine, in the city. The day after there was a cry current among the people, that the gods had esten up all the corn and that Creen was indeed Apollo but Apollo the Tormentor." under which title that god was worklupped in some quarter of the city. He was likewise charged with being exceedirely foud of fine furniture, and Corinthuau vessels, as well as with being addicted to gaming. For during the time of the proscription, the following line was written upon his status.

Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius; My father was a silverszaith, my dealings are in brass;

because it was believed, that he had put some persons upon the list of the prescribed, only to obtain the Corinthian vessels in

Probably in the Suburra where Martial informs us that forturing accurages were sold;

Tourisia Subarras (Aucibus sed et primis, Cruesta pendent cua farella tortorum.

If the the gold and ell're-amiltis of the middle ages, the Rowau moory lenders unlited both trades. See afterwards, Ngao, c. 5. It is hardly secretary to remark that water or reaction of the compound north which were by the name of Cordenhian bress, or brosza, were externed even moor valuable than after plate.

their possession. And afterwards, in the Sicilian war, the following epigram was published —

Postquam his classe victus naves perdidit, Aliquando ut vincat, liidit assidue aleam Twice having lost a fleet in luckless fight, To win at last, he games both day and night

LXXI With respect to the charge or imputation of loathsome impurity before-mentioned, he very easily refuted it by the chastity of his life, at the very time when it was made, as well as ever afterwards—His conduct likewise gave the he to that of luxurious extravagance in his furniture, when, upon the taking of Alexandria, he reserved for himself nothing of the royal treasures but a porcelain cup, and soon afterwards melted down all the vessels of gold, even such as were intended for common use But his amorous propensities never left him, and, as he grew older, as is reported, he was in the habit of debauching young girls, who were procured for him, from all quarters, even by his own wife. To the observations on his gaming, he paid not the smallest regard, but played in public, but purely for his diversion, even when he was advanced in years, and not only in the month of December,1 but at other times, and upon all days, whether festivals or not. This evidently appears from a letter under his own hand, in which he says, "I supped, my dear Tiberius, with the same company We had, besides, Vinicius, and Silvius the father We gamed at supper like old fellows, both yesterday and today And as any one threw upon the tali<sup>2</sup> aces or sixes, he put down for every talus a denarius, all which was gained by him who threw a Venus "3 In another letter, he says "We had, my dear Tiberius, a pleasant time of it during the festival of Minerva for we played every day, and kept the gamingboard warm Your brother uttered many exclamations at a desperate run of ill-fortune, but recovering by degrees, and unexpectedly, he in the end lost not much I lost twenty thousand sesterces for my part, but then I was profusely

1 See c XXXII and note 2 The Romans, at their feasts, during the intervals of drinking, often played at dice, of which there were two kinds, the tesseræ and tali. The former had six sides, like the modern dice, the latter, four oblong sides, for the two ends were not regarded. In playing, they used three tesseræ and four tali, which were all put into a box wider below than above, and being shaken, were thrown out upon the gaming board or table.

3 The highest cast was so called

generous in my play as I commonly am for had I insisted upon the stakes which I doclined, or kept what I gave oway I should have won about fifty thousand. But this I like better for it will ruse my character for generouty to the skies. a letter to his daughter he writes thus I have sent you two hundred and fifty denarm which I gave to every one of my grouts in case they were inclined at supper to divert themselves with the Tel; or at the game of Even or Odd.

LXXII In other matters, it appears that he was moderate in his habits, and free from suspecion of any kind of vice He lived at first near the Boman Forum above the Ring maker s Stairs, in a house which had once been occupied by Calyus the orator He afterwards moved to the Palatine Hill, where he resided in a small house' belonging to Hortensius, no way remarkable either for size or ornament the plasmas being but small, the pillars of Alban stone," and the rooms without any thing of marble, or fine paving He continued to use the some bed-chamber both wanter and summer during forty years r for though he was sensible that the catr did not agree with his health in the winter he novertheless resided con stantly in it during that eceson. If at any time he wished to be perfectly retired, and secure from interruption, he shut himself up in an apartment at the top of his house, which he called his Syracuse or Trystown or he went to some villa belonging to his freedmen near the city But when he was indusposed, he commonly took up his residence in the house of Moseman. Of all the places of retirement from the city he

was, therefore, cheaply procured and easily worked.

It was usual among the Romans to have separate sets of apartments

for summer and winter use, according to their exposure to the sun-This word may be interpreted the Calinet of Arts. It was common, in the houses of the great, among the Romans, to have an apartment called

the Study or Museum. Pliny says, beautifully "O mare! O littus! verum secretumque poverler quam multa invenitia, quam multa dictatia?" O sea ! O shore! Thou real and a-cluded museum; what tressures of science so you not discover to us, how much do you teach us |- Epist 1.9 Alecenses had a bouse and gardens on the Esquiline Hill celebrated for their salabelty—

Name Beet Esquillis habitore salubriben .- Har Set 1, 9, 14

<sup>1</sup> Enlarged by Tiberius and succeeding emperors. The rules of the palace of the Carstrs are still seen on the Palatine. Probably travertise, a soft limestone, from the Alban Mount which

chiefly frequented those upon the sea-coast, and the islands of Campania, or the towns nearest the city, such as Lanuvium, Præneste, and Tibur,2 where he often used to sit for the administration of justice, in the portices of the temple of Hercules He hal a particular aversion to large and sumptuous palaces, and some which had been raised at a vast expense by his grand-daughter, Julia, he levelled to the ground. Those of his own, which were far from being spacious, he adorned, not so much with statues and pictures, as with walks and groves, and things which were curious either for their antiquity or rarity, such as, at Capri, the huge limbs of sea-monsters and wild beasts, which some affect to call the bones of giants; and also the arms of ancient heroes

LXXIII. His frugality in the furniture of his house appears even at this day, from some beds and tables still remaining, most of which are scarcely elegant enough for a private family It is reported that he never lay upon a bed, but such as was low, and meanly furnished He seldom wore any garment but what was made by the hands of his wife, sister, daughter, and grand-daughters His togas were neither scanty nor full,

1 Such as Baiæ, and the islands of Ischia, Procida, Capri, and others, the resorts of the opulent nobles, where they had magnificent marine villas 2 Now Tivoli, a delicious spot, where Horace had a villa, in which he

hoped to spend his declining years

Ver ubi longum, tepidasque præbet Jupiter brumas

1b1, tu calentem Debitâ sparges lachrymâ favillam Vatis amici. Odes. B u 5

Adrian also had a magnificent villa near Tibur s The Toga was a loose woollen robe, which covered the whole body. close at the bottom, but open at the top down to the girdle, and without The right arm was thus at liberty, and the left supported a flap of the toga, which was drawn up, and thrown back over the left shoulder, forming what is called the Sinus, a fold or cavity upon the breast, in which things might be carried, and with which the face or head might be occasionally covered When a person did any work, he tucked up his toga, and girt it round him The toga of the rich and noble was finer and larger than that of others, and a new toga was called Pexa None but Roman citizens were permitted to wear the toga, and banished persons were prohibited the use of it. The colour of the toya was white, The clavus was a purple border, by which the senators and other orders, with the magistrates, were distinguished, the breadth of the stripe corre monding with their rank.

and the claras was neither remarkably broad or narrow. His those were a little higher than common to make him appear taller than he was. He had always clothes and shoes, fit to appear in public, ready in his bed-chamber for any sudden occasion.

LXXIV At his table, which was always plentiful and elegant, he constantly entertuned company but was very scripplous in the choice of them, both as to rank and cha racter. Valerius Hessala informs us, that he nover admitted may freedman to his table, except Menas, when rewarded with the privilege of entisenship, for botraying Pompey's floot. He writes, himself, that he invited to his table a purson in whose villa he lodged, and who had formerly been employed by him as a gry. He often come late to table, and withdraw early so that the company began suppre before his arrival, and continued at table after his departure. His entertainments consisted of three entries, or at most of only six. But if his fare was moderate, his courtesy was extreme. For those who were silent, or talked in whispers, he encouraged to join in this general conversation and introduced boffcons and singo players, or even low performers from the circus, and very otten interestal humoursts, to enlive the company

LXXV Feativals and holdays he usually celebrated very expensively but sometimes only with merriment. In the Saturnalis, or at any other time when the fancy took him he distributed to his company clothes, gold, and alliver sometimes come of all sorts, even of the smelent kings of Rome and of foreign nations sometimes nothing but towels, spenger rakes, and tweezers, and other things of that kind, with tackets on them, which were enigenatical and had a double meaning. He used likewise to sell by lot smoong his guests criticles of very unequal value and pictures with their fronts reversed; and so, by the unknown quality of the lot, disappoint or gratify the expectation of the purchasers. This sort of traffic

In which the whole humour of the thing consisted either in the uses to which these articles were applied, or in their names having in Latin a double signification; matters which cannot be explained with any dereser

went round the whole company, every one being obliged to buy something, and to run the chance of loss or gain with the rest

LXXVI He ate sparingly (for I must not omit even this), and commonly used a plain diet. He was particularly fond of coarse bread, small fishes, new cheese made of cow's milk,¹ and green figs of the sort which bear fruit twice a year ². He did not wait for supper, but took food at any time, and in any place, when he had an appetite. The following passages relative to this subject, I have transcribed from his letters. "I ate a little bread and some small dates, in my carriage." Again "In returning home from the palace in my litter, I ate an ounce of bread, and a few raisins." Again "No Jew, my dear Tiberius, ever keeps such strict fast upon the Sabbath,³ as I have to-day, for while in the bath, and after the first hour of the night, I only ate two biscuits, before I began to be rubbed with oil." From this great indifference about his diet, he sometimes supped by himself, before his company began, or after they had finished, and would not touch a morsel at table with his guests.

LXXVII He was by nature extremely sparing in the use of wine Cornelius Nepos says, that he used to drink only three times at supper in the camp at Modena, and when he indulged himself the most, he never exceeded a pint, or if he did, his stomach rejected it. Of all wines, he gave the

1 Casum bubulum manu pressum, probably soft cheese, not reduced to solid consistence in the cheese-press

<sup>2</sup> A species of fig tree, known in some places as Adam's fig We have gathered them, in those climates, of the latter crop, as late as the month of November

3 Sabbatis Jejunium Augustus might have been better informed of the Jewish rites, from his familiarity with Herod and others, for it is certain that their sabbath was not a day of fasting. Justin, however, fell nito the same error he says, that Moses appointed the sabbath-day to be kept for ever by the Jews as a fast, in memory of their fasting for seven days in the deserts of Arabia, xxxvi. 2. 14. But we find that there was a weekly fast among the Jews, which is perhaps what is here meant, the Sabbatis Jejunium being equivalent to the Nηστεύω δις τοῦ σαββάτου, 'I fast twice in the week' of the Pharisee, in St. Luke xviii. 12

preference to the liketian, but scarcely ever drank any in the day time. Insteed of drinking he used to take a piece of bread dipped in cold water or a file of cusumber, or some leaves of lettuce, or a green sharp, juicy apple

LXXVIII. After a slight ropest at noon, he used to seek repose, dressed as he was, and with his shoos on, his feet covered, and his hand held before his eyes. After supper he commonly withdraw to his study, a small closet, where he sat late, until he had put down in his diary all or most of the remaining transactions of the day which he had not before registered. He would then go to bed, but never slept above seven hours at most, and that not without interruption for he would wake three or four times during that time If he could not again fall asleep, as sometimes happened, he called for some one to read or tell stories to him, until he became drowsy, and then his sleep was usually protracted till after day break. He never liked to lie awake in the dark without somebody to sit by him. Very early rising was apt to disagree with him. On which account, if he was obliged to rise betimes, for any civil or religious functions, in order to guard as much as possible scrips; the inconvenience result ing from it, he used to lodge in some apartment near the spot, belonging to any of his attendants. If at any time a fit of drownings served him in passing along the streets, his litter was set down while he sustehed a few mements' sleep

LAXIX. In person he was handsome and graceful, through every period of his life. But he was negligent in his dress and so carcless about dressing his hair that he usually had it done in great heate by several barbers at a time. His beard he sometimes clapped, and sometimes shaved and either read or wrote during the operation. His countenance, either when discountering or lifent, was so calm and serice, that a

The Rhetian wises had a great reputation: Virgil says,
 —— Ex quo te carados dicam,
 Rhetica.
 Georg II. 96

The vineyards law t the foot of the Rhattian Alps their produce, we aske reason to believe was not a very generous liquor

A custom in all warm countries the situits of the Halisan in Inter

Gaul of the first rank declared amongst his friends, that he was so softened by it, as to be restrained from throwing him down a precipice, in his passage over the Alps, when he had been admitted to approach him, under pretence of conferring with him. His eyes were bright and piercing, and he was willing it should be thought that there was something of a divine vigour in them. He was likewise not a little pleased to see people, upon his looking stedfastly at them, lower their countenances, as if the sun shone in their eyes. But in his old age, he saw very imperfectly with his left eye. His teeth were thin set, small and scaly, his hair a little eurled, and inclining to a yellow colour. His eye-brows met, his ears were small, and he had an aquiline nose. His complexion was betwixt brown and fair, his stature but low, though Julius Marathus, his freedman, says he was five feet and nine inches in height. This, however, was so much concealed by the just proportion of his limbs, that it was only perceivable upon comparison with some taller person standing by him

LXXX He is said to have been born with many spots upon his breast and belly, answering to the figure, order, and number of the stars in the constellation of the Bear. He had besides several callosities resembling scars, occasioned by an itehing in his body, and the constant and violent use of the strigil in being rubbed. He had a weakness in his left hip, thigh, and leg, insomuch that he often halted on that side, but he received much benefit from the use of sand and reeds. He likewise sometimes found the fore-finger of his right hand so weak, that when it was benumbed and contracted with cold, to use it in writing, he was obliged to have recourse to a circular piece of horn. He had occasionally a complaint in the bladder, but upon voiding some stones in his urine, he was relieved from that pain

LXXXI During the whole course of his life, he suffered, at times, dangerous fits of sickness, especially after the conquest of Cantabria, when his liver being injured by a de-

I The strigil was used in the baths for scraping the body when in a state of perspiration. It was sometimes made of gold or silver, and not unlike in form the instrument used by grooms about horses when profutely sweating or splashed with mud

finxion upon it, he was reduced to such a condition, that he was obliged to undergo a desperate and doubtful method of cure for warm applications having no effect, Antonius Muss' directed the use of those which were cold. He was likewise subject to fits of sockness at stated times every year for about his birth-day' he was commonly a little indisposed. In the beginning of spring, he was attacked with an inflation of the midmiff and when the wind was southerly with a cold in his head. By all these complaints, his constitution was so shattered, that he could not easily bear either heat or cold.

LXXXII. In winter he was protected against the incle menoy of the weather by a thick toga, four tunics, a shirt, a flannel stomacher and swathings upon his legs and thighs. In summer he lay with the doors of his bedchamber open and frequently in a piezza, refreshed by a bubbling fountain and a person standing by to fan him. He could not bear oven the winter a sun and at home, never walked in the open air without a broad brimmed hat on his head. He usually travelled in a litter and by night and so slow that he was two days in going to Preneste or Tibur And if he could go to any place by see, he preferred that mode of tra velling. He carefully nourished his health against his many infirmities, avoiding chiefly the free use of the both but he was often rubbed with oil, and swented in a store after which he was washed with tepid water warmed either by a fire, or by being exposed to the heat of the sun. When upon account of his nerves, he was obliged to have recourse to see water or the waters of Albuls, he was contented with sitting over a wooden tub, which he called by a Spanish name

<sup>1</sup> His physician, mentioned c. R.E. Seps. 21st, a tickly season at Rome. Forminality of Hishitten I wither the ascient Romans or the Greeks were breeches, traws, or trowsers, which they despised as har harita articles of dress. The correctings here mentioned were switching for the keys and thight, med soostly in cases of stickness or laterality and when otherwise wors, rectioned effembate. But soon after the Romans became acqualated with the German and Cellic nations, the habit of covering the lower extremities burstances as it had been held, was generally adopted.
4 ABAL. On the left of the road to Troto, were the raising of Adrian;

villa. The waters are sulphoreous, and the deposit from them caster lactutations on twips and other matters plumped in the springs. See a carious account of this stream in Gell's Topography published by Bela, p. 40. Dureta, and plunging his hands and feet in the water by

LXXXIII As soon as the civil wars were ended, he gave up riding and other military exercises in the Campus Martius, and took to playing at ball, or foot-ball, but soon afterwards used no other exercise than that of going abroad in his litter, or walking. Towards the end of his walk, he would run leaping, wrapped up in a short cloak or cape. For amusement he would sometimes angle, or play with dice, pebbles, or nuts, with little boys, collected from various countries, and particularly Moors and Syrians, for their beauty or amusing talk. But dwarfs, and such as were in any way deformed, he held in abhorrence, as lusus natura (nature's abortions), and of evil omen

LXXXIV From early youth he devoted himself with great diligence and application to the study of eloquence, and the other liberal aits. In the war of Modena, notwithstanding the weighty affairs in which he was engaged, he is said to have read, written, and declaimed every day. He never addressed the senate, the people, or the army, but in a premeditated speech, though he did not want the talent of speaking extempore on the spur of the occasion. And lest his memory should fail him, as well as to prevent the loss of time in getting up his speeches, it was his general practice to recite them. In his intercourse with individuals, and even with his wife Livia, upon subjects of importance he wrote on his tablets all he wished to express, lest, if he spoke extempore, he should say more or less than was proper. He delivered himself in a sweet and peculial tone, in which he was diligently instructed by a master of elocution. But when he had a cold, he sometimes employed a herald to deliver his speeches to the people.

LXXXV He composed many tracts in prose on various subjects, some of which he read occasionally in the circle of his triends, as to an auditory. Among these was his "Rescript to Brutus respecting Cato" Most of the pages he read himself, although he was advanced in years, but becoming fatigued, he gave the rest to Tiberius to finish. He likewise read over to

his friends his Exhortations to Philosophy and the History of his own Life, which he continued in thirteen books, as far as the Cantabrian war but no farther. He likewise made some attempts at poorty. There is extent one book written by him in hexameter verse, of which both the subject and title is Sicily. There is also a book of Engrans, no larger than the last, which he composed almost entirely while he was in the both. These are all his postical compositions for though he begun a tragedy with great test, becoming dissatusfied with the style, he obliterated the whole and his friends saying to him. What is your Ajax doing? he an swerced, My Ajax has net with a sponge.

LXXXVI He cultivated a style which was next and chaste avoiding frivolous or harsh language as well as obsolete words, which he calls disgusting. His chief object was to deliver his thoughts with all possible perspicuity. To attain this end, and that be might nowhere perplex, or retard the reader or hearer he made no scruple to add prepositions to his verbs, or to report the same conjunction several times which, when omitted occasion some httle obscurity but give a grace to the style. These who used affected language or adopted obsolete words, he despised, as equally faulty though in different ways. He sometimes induled himself in jesting particularly with his friend Mecones, whom he rallied upon all occasions for his fine phrases,2 and bantered by imitating his way of talking Nor did he spare Tiberius, who was f nd of obsolete and far fetched expressions. He charges Murk Antony with insuity writing rather to make men stare than to be understood and by way of sarcasm upon his depraved and field taste in the choice of words, he writes to him thus And are you yet in doubt, whether Cimber Annua or Vera

And are you yet in douts, whether Cimber Annius or Vera nius Flacetts be more proper for your intuition? Whether you will adopt words which Sallustius Crispus has borrowed from the Origines of Cato? Or do you think that the verbose empty bombast of Asiatio orators is fit to be transfused into

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In spanyon inculuince literally has fallen upon a sponge, as Ajax is said to have perished by falling on his own sword.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Myos point: Sectionis often preserves expectative Greek phrases which Augustus was in the habit of using. This compound word means ktertily superbasested, perfused.

our language " And in a letter where he commends the talent of his grand-daughter, Agrippina, he says, "But you must be particularly careful, both in writing and speaking, to avoid affectation"

LXXXVII In ordinary conversation, he made use of several peculiar expressions, as appears from letters in his own hand-writing, in which, now and then, when he means to intimate that some persons would never pay their debts, he says, "They will pay at the Greek Calends" And when he advised patience in the present posture of affairs, he would say, "Let us be content with our Cato" To describe anything in haste, he said, "It was sooner done than asparagus is cooked" He constantly puts baceolus for stultus, pullegaceus for pullus, vacerrosus for cerritus, vapide se habei e for male, and betizare for languere, which is commonly called lachanizare. Likewise simus for sumus, domos for domus in the genitive singular. With respect to the last two peculiarities, lest any person should imagine that they were only slips of his pen, and not customary with him, he never varies. I have likewise remarked this singularity in his hand-writing, he never divides his words, so as to carry the letters which cannot be inserted at the end of a line to the next, but puts them 'elow the other, enclosed by a bracket

LXXXVIII He did not adhere strictly to orthography as laid down by the grammarians, but seems to have been of the opinion of those who think, that we ought to write as we speak, for as to his changing and omitting not only letters—ut whole syllables, it is a vulgar mistake. Nor should I nave taken notice of it, but that it appears strange to me, that any person should have told us, that he sent a successor to a consular lieutenant of a province, as an ignorant, illiterate fellow, upon his observing that he had written ixi for ipsi. When he had occasion to write in cypher, he put b for a, c for b, and so forth, and instead of z, aa

LXXXIX He was no less fond of the Greek literature, in which he made considerable proficiency, having had Apol
1 These are variations of language of small importance, which can only be understood in the original language.

odorus of Pergamus, for his muster in rhetoric will om though much advanced in years, he took with him from The City, when he was himself very young to Apollonia. Afterwards, being instructed in philology by Sepharus, he received into his family Arous the philosopher and his sens Dionysius and Ni canor; but he never could speak the Greek tongue readily nor ever ventured to compose in it. For if there was occasion for him to deliver his sentiments in that language, he always expressed what he had to say in Latin, and gave it another to translate. He was evidently not unacquainted with the poetry of the Greeks, and had a great taste for the ancient comedy which he often brought upon the stage, in his public spectacles. In reading the Greek and Latin authors, he paid par ticular attention to precepts and examples which might be usoful in public or private life. Those he used to extract ver-buim, and gave to his domestics, or send to the commanders of the armies, the governors of the provinces, or the magustrates of the city when any of them seemed to stand in need of admonition. He likewise read whole books to the senate and frequently made them known to the people by his edicts such as the crations of Quintus Motellus for the Encourage ment of Marriage, and those of Rutilius On the Style of Building "1 to show the people that he was not the first who had promoted those objects, but that the ancients likewise had thought them worthy their attention. He patronised the men of genius of that age in every possible way. He would hear them read their works with a great deal of patience and good nature and not only poetry and history but orations and dialogues. He was displeased, however that anything should be written upon himself, except in a grave manner and by men of the most eminent abilities and he enjoined the practors not to suffer his name to be made too common in the contests amonest crutors and poets in the theatres.

XC. We have the following account of him respecting his

1 it may create a smile to bear that, to prevent danger to the public,
Augustus decreed that no new buildings erected in a public thoroughfare
should saved in height seventy feet. Trojun reduced it to sixty

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Veril is said to have recited before him the whole of the second, fourth, and sixth books of the Encid and Octavia, being present, when the poet came to the passage referring to her son, commencing, "Tn Marselloss eris," was so much affected that she was carried out fainting.

belief in omens and such like He had so great a dread of thunder and lightning that he always carried about him a seal's skin, by way of preservation And upon any apprehension of a violent storm, he would retire to some place of concealment in a vault under ground, having formerly been terrified by a flash of lightning, while travelling in the night, as we have already mentioned <sup>1</sup>

XCI He neither slighted his own dreams nor those of other people relating to himself. At the battle of Philippi, although he had resolved not to stir out of his tent, on account of his being indisposed, yet, being warned by a dream of one of his friends, he changed his mind, and well it was that he did so, for in the enemy s attack, his couch was pierced and cut to pieces, on the supposition of his being in it. He had many hivolous and frightful dreams during the spring, but in the other parts of the year, they were less frequent and more significative. Upon his frequently visiting a temple near the Capitol, which he had dedicated to Jupiter Tonans, he dreamt that Jupiter Capitolinus complained that his worshippers were taken from him, and that upon this he replied, he had only given him The Thunderer for his porter. He therefore immediately suspended little bells round the summit of the temple, because such commonly hung at the gates of great houses. In consequence of a dream, too, he always, on a certain day of the year, begged alms of the people, reaching out his hand to receive the dole which they offered him

XCII Some signs and omens he regarded as infallible If in the morning his shoe was put on wrong, the left instead of the right, that boded some disaster. If when he commenced a long journey, by sea or land, there happened to fall a mizzling rain, he held it to be a good sign of a speedy and happy return. He was much affected likewise with any thing out of the common course of nature. A palm-tree which

<sup>1</sup> Chap xix

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the point of the reply lay in the temple of Jupiter Tonans being placed at the approach to the Capitol from the Forum? See c xxix and c xy, with the note

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> If these trees flourished at Rome in the time of Augustus, the winters there must have been much milder than they now are. There was one

chanced to grow up between some atones in the court of his bouse, he transplanted into a court where the images of the Mousehold foods were placed, and took all possible care to make it three. In the island of Capra, some decayed branches of an old flar, which hung drooping to the ground recovered themselves upon his crivial at which he was so delighted, that he made an exchange with the Republic of Naples, of the island of Chanan [Ischia], for that of Capri. He licewase observed certain days as more to go from home the day after the Numlines, nor to begin any serious business upon this nones. A widding nothing else in it, as he writes to Tibernus than its unlexly name.

XCIII. With regard to the religious ceremonics of freeze nations, ho was a strict observer of these which had been established by anment custom but others he held in no esteem For having been initiated at Athens, and coming afterwards to hear a couse at Rome, relative to the privileges of the priests of the Attac Ceres, when some of the mysteries of their sucred rates were to be introduced in the pleadings, but dismissed those who sat upon the bench as judges with him as well as the by standers, and heard the argument upon those points himself. But, on the other hand, he not only declaned in his progress through Egypt to go out of his way to pay a visit to Apis, but he likewise commended his grandson Cause

solitary palm standing in the garden of a convent some years ago, but it was of very studied growth

The Republican forms were preserved in some of the larger towns, at "The Numbles occurred every sinth day when a market was held at 80mm, and the people came to it from the country. The practice was

not then lattreduced amongst the Romann, of dividing their time isto weak, as we do, in indiation of the Jews Dio, who fourthird user? Between, says that it first took place a little before his time, and was derived from the Egyptians. "Thesense, A fact, if well founded, of some importance.

The Romann divided their months into calends nowes, and idea. The first day of the month was the calends power, and idea. The first day of the month was the calends that month whence they recknosed backwards, distinguishing the time by the day before the ca feeds, the second day before the existent, and so on, to the feet of the

freat, the second day before the calcode, and so on, to the sides of the preceding month. In citizal months of the part the power were the fifth day and the idee the thirteenth but in March, May, J by and October the notes fifth on the severals, and the sides on the fifteenth. From the mosts they reclosed backwards to the calcode, as they also did from the side to the notes of march.

dangers and misfortunes which had threatened the sacrificer, would fall upon the heads of those who had got possession of the entrails. And, accordingly, so it happened. The day before the sea-fight near Sicily, as he was walking upon the shore, a fish leaped out of the sea, and laid itself at his feet. At Actium, while he was going down to his fleet to engage the enemy, he was met by an ass with a fellow driving it. The name of the man was Eutychus, and that of the animal, Nichon. After the victory, he erected a brazen statue to each, in a temple built upon the spot where he had encamped.

XCVII His death, of which I shall now speak, and his subsequent defication, were intimated by divers manifest prodigies. As he was finishing the census amidst a great crowd of people in the Campus Martius, an eagle hovered round him several times, and then directed its course to a neighbouring temple, where it settled upon the name of Agrippa, and at the first letter. Upon observing this, he ordered his colleague Tiberius to put up the vows, which it is usual to make on such occasions, for the succeeding Lustrum. For he declared he would not meddle with what it was probable he should such occasions, for the succeeding Lustrum For he declared he would not meddle with what it was probable he should never accomplish, though the tables were ready drawn for it About the same time, the first letter of his name, in an inscription upon one of his statues, was struck out by lightning, which was interpreted as a presage that he would live only a hundred days longer, the letter C denoting that number, and that he would be placed amongst the Gods, as Æsar, which is the remaining part of the word Cæsar, signifies, in the Tuscan language, a God <sup>2</sup> Being, therefore, about dispatching Tiberius to Illyricum, and designing to go with him as far as Beneventum, but being detained by several persons who applied to him respecting causes they had depending, he cried out, (and it was afterwards regarded as an omen of his death), "Not all the business in the world, shall detain me at Rome one moment longer." and setting out upon his journey, he went one moment longer," and setting out upon his journey, he went

Esar is a Greek word with an Etruscan termination, αῖσα signifyir:

fate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The good omen, in this instance, was founded upon the etymology of the names of the ass and its driver the former of which, in Greek, signifies fortunate, and the latter, victorious

as far as Astura 1 whence, contrary to his custom be put to sea in the night time, as there was a favourable wind.

XOVIII. His malady proceeded from diarrhoes, notwith standing which he went round the coast of Campania, and the adjacent islands, and spent four days in that of Capra where he gave himself up entirely to repose and relaxation. Happening to sail by the boy of Puteoli, the passengers and mariners aboard a ship of Alexandria, just then arrived clad all in white, with chaplets upon their heads, and offering income, loaded him with praises and joyful acalemations, crying out.

By you we live, by you we sail securely by you enjoy our liberty and our fortunes." At which being greatly pleased he distributed to each of those who attended him, forty gold pieces, requiring from them an assurance on oath, not to em ploy the sum given them in any other way than the purchase of Alexandrian merchandise. And during several days after wards, he distributed Togos and Pallin, among other gifts, on condition that the Romans should use the Greek, and the Greeks the Roman dress and language. He likewise constantly attended to see the boys perform their exercises, according to an ancient custom still continued at Capra. He gave them likowise an entertainment in his presence, and not only per mitted but required from them the utmost freedom in lesting. and scrambling for fruit, victuals, and other things which he throw amongst them. In a word, he indulged himself in all the ways of amusement he could contrive

He colled an island near Capra, Arrayoraluf, The City of the Do-lettles from the indolent life which several of his party led there. A favourate of his, one Masgabas, he used

Margabas access, by his same, to have been of African origin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Astura stood not far from Terracina, on the road to Nap es. Augustus embarked there for the islands lying off that coast.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Percoll"—" A ship of Alexandra." Words which bring to our recollection a passerpe in the voyage of St. Prall, Acts xwiii. 11—13. Alexandra was at that time the seat of an extensive commerce, and not only exported to Rome and other cities of Italy wast quantities of corn and other products of Egypt, but was the mart for spices and other cornamodates, the first of the traffic whis the earlier.

The Tops has been already described in a note to c. httlit. The Palliem was a clook, generally work by the Greeks, both men and women, freemen and dis es, but particularly by philosophers.

to call  $K\tau \iota \sigma \tau \dot{\eta} \varsigma$ , as if he had been the planter of the island. And observing from his room a great company of people with torches, assembled at the tomb of this Masgabas, who died the year before, he uttered very distinctly this verse, which he made extempore

Κτιστου δὲ τύμβο, εισορῶ πυρόυμενον. Blazing with lights I see the founder's tomb

Then turning to Thrasyllus, a companion of Tiberius, who reclined on the other side of the table, he asked him, who knew nothing about the matter, what poet he thought was the author of that verse, and on his hesitating to reply, he added another

'Ορᾶς φάεσσι Μασγάζαν τιμώμενον Honor'd with torches Masgabas you see.

and put the same question to him concerning that likewise. The latter replying, that, whoever might be the author, they were excellent verses, he set up a great laugh, and fell into an extraordinary vein of jesting upon it. Soon afterwards, passing over to Naples, although at that time greatly disordered in his bowels by the frequent returns of his disease, he sat out the exhibition of the gymnastic games which were performed in his honour every five years, and proceeded with Tiberius to the place intended. But on his return, his disorder increasing, he stopped at Nola, sent for Tiberius back again, and had a long discourse with him in private, after which, he gave no further attention to business of any importance.

XCIX Upon the day of his death, he now and then enquired, if there was any distuibance in the town on his account, and calling for a millor, he ordered his hair to be combed, and his shrunk checks to be adjusted. Then asking his friends who were admitted into the room, "Do yo think that I have acted my part on the stage of life well?" he immediately subjoined,

'Ει δὰ τῶν ἔχει καλῶς, τῷ παιγνίφ Δότε γουτον, καὶ ταντες υμεῖς μετὰ χαςᾶς ντυπήσατε If all be right, with joy vour voices raise, In loud applauses to the actor's praise.

A courtly answer from the Professor of Science, in which character ne attended T.herius We shall hear more of him in the reign of that emperor

After which, having dismissed them all, whilst ... own inquiring of some persons who were just arrived from Rome, concrining Drussus a daughter who was in a bad state of health, he expired suddenly similet the kinese of Livia, and with these words. Livia live mindful of our union and now farewell!" drung a very easy death, and such as he himself had always wishel for. For as often as he heard that any person had died quickly and without pain he wished for thinself and his friends the like festerates (an easy death) for that was the word he made use of. He betrayed but one symptom, before he breathed his last, of being delineus which was this he was all on a sudden much frightened, and complained that he was acartical away by forty men. But this was rather a pressage than any delirious for prensely that number of soldiers belonging to the pretoran cohort, carried out his corpec.

G. He expired in the same room in which his father Octs vius had died, when the two Sextus a, Pompey and Apuleus, were consuls, upon the fourteenth of the calends of Septem ber [the 18th August] at the muth how af the day, being soventy-six years of age, wanting only thirty five days. His remains were carried by the magistrates of the minishepel' towns and colonics, from hole to Boville 'not in the inght time because of the scasm of the year. During the intervals, the body lay in some besilies, or great temple, of each town. At Bovillan it was used by the Equestrian Order who carried it to the city and deposited it in the restibute of his own house. The senate proceeded with se much real in the ar rangement of his funeral, and paying bonour to his memory that, amongst several other proposeds, some were for having the funeral procession made through the triumphal gate, preceded by the image of Victory which is in the senate-house, and the children of highest rank and of both sexes singing the funeral

Augustus was born a.v.c. 691, and died a.v.c. 768.

2 Muscipies were sorns which had obtained the rights of Roman citi sons. Some of them had all which could be enjoyed without residing at Rome. Others had the right of serving in the Roman legions, but not that of voting, now of bodding ciril effect. The sensicipie retained their swa law and customs; sor were they obliged to receive the Roman laws unless they choose it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Boviller a small place on the Applian Way about electers miles from Rome, now called Frattechio.

dirge Others proposed, that on the day of the funeral, they should lay aside their gold rings, and wear rings of iron, and others, that his bones should be collected by the priests of the principal colleges One likewise proposed to transfer the name of August to September, because he was born in the latter, but died in the former Another moved, that the whole period of time, from his birth to his death, should be called the Augustan age, and be inserted in the calendar under that title But at last it was judged proper to be moderate in the honours paid to his memory Two funeral orations were pronounced in his praise, one before the temple of Julius, by Tiberius, and the other before the rostra, under the old shops, by Drusus, Ti-The body was then carried upon the shoulders of senators into the Campus Martius, and there burnt of prætorian rank affirmed upon oath, that he saw his spirit ascend from the funeral pile to heaven The most distinguished persons of the equestrian order, bare-footed, and with their tunies loose, gathered up his relies,1 and deposited them in the mausoleum, which had been built in his sixth consulship between the Flaminian Way and the bank of the Tiber, 2 at which time likewise he gave the groves and walks about it for the use of the people.

CI He had made a will a year and four months before his death, upon the third of the nones of April [the 11th of \_\_# pril], in the consulship of Lucius Plancus, and Caius Silius ing, he stoted of two skins of parchment, written partly in his a long dised, and partly by his freedmen Polybius and Hilarian, further attention wnmitted to the custody of the Vestal Virgins,

XCIX Upon the produced, with three codicils under seal, quiled, if there was a lall these were opened and read in the and calling for a mirrited as his direct heirs, Tiberius for two-his shrunk cheeks to be devoted Livia joined with the knights in this were admitted into the fd them during five days.

my part on the stage of h see before, p 94, note. The superb monument my part on the stage of he sepulchre of the imperial family was of white

'Et δ' - αν έχει καλτεατ height, and crowned by a dome, on which Δο-ε / ού-ον, και παννίος see was the first who was buried in the If all be right, with the constant of the right with the right with the right with the right with the right was appointed and right with the right was appointed and right with the right was appointed and right and right with the right was appointed and right and right was appointed and right and right was appointed and right and rig

A courtine attended a conference of the conference of the conference of the conference of the courts of the court of

thirds of his estate, and Livia for the other third, both of whom he desired to assume his name. The heirs in remainder were Drusus. Tiberius a son, for one third, and Germanicus with his three sons for the residue. In the third place fail ing them were his relations, and several of his friends. Ho left in legames to the Roman people forty millions of sesterces to the tribes' three millions five hundred thousand to the practorian troops o thousand each man to the city cohorts five hundred and to the legions and soldiers three hundred each; which soveral sums he ordered to be paid immediately after his death having taken due care that the money should be ready in his exchequer. For the rest he or dured different times of payment. In some of his bequests he went as for as twenty thousand sesterces, for the payment of which he allowed a twelvementh alleging for this pro-crustination the scantiness of his estate and declaring that not more than a hundred and fifty millions of seaterees would come to his heirs notwithstanding that during the twenty proced ing years, he had received, in legacies from his friends, the sum of fourteen hundred millions almost the whole of which with his two paternal estates," and others which had been left him he had spent in the service of the state. He left orders that the two Julias, his daughter and grand-daughter if any thing happened to them should not be buried in his tomb. With regard to the three codicils before-mentioned in one of them he gave orders about his funeral enother contained a summary of his acts, which he intended should be inscribed on braxen plates, and placed in front of his manusoleum; in the third he had drawn up a concise account of the state of the empire the number of troops enrolled, what money there was in the treasury the revenue and arrears of taxes to which were added the names of the freedmen and slaves from whom the several accounts might be taken.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The distinction between the Roman people and the tribes, is also observed by Taction, who substitutes the word place meaning, the lowest class of the populace.

These of his father Octavies, and his father by adoption, Julius Crear See before c. 65. But he bequesthed a legacy to his daughter Livia.

OCTAVIUS CESAR, afterwards Augustus, had now attained to the same position in the state which had formerly been occupied by Julius Cæsar, and though he entered upon it by violence, he continued to enjoy it through life with almost uninterrupted tranquillity By the long duration of the late civil war, with its concomitant train of public calamities, the minds of men were become less averse to the prospect of an absolute government, at the same time that the new emperor, naturally prudent and politic, had learned from the fate of Julius the art of preserving supreme power, without arrogating to himself any invidious mark of distinction He affected to decline public honours, disclaimed every idea of personal superiority, and in all his behaviour displayed a degree of moderation which prognosticated the most happy effects, in restoring peace and prosperity to the harassed empire The tenor of his future conduct was suitable to this auspicious commencement. endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the people by lending money to those who stood in need of it, at low interest, or without any at all, and by the exhibition of public shows, of which the Romans were remarkably fond, he was attentive to the preservation of a becoming dignity in the government, and to the correction of morals The senate, which, in the time of Sylla, had increased to upwards of four hundred, and, during the civil war, to a thousand, members, by the admission of improper persons, he reduced to six hundred, and being invested with the ancient office of censor, which had for some time been disused, he exercised an arbitrary but legal authority over the conduct of every rank in the state, by which he could degrade nators and knights, and inflict upon all citizens an ignominious furthetence for any immoral or indecent behaviour But nothing

quined and c rovisions had always been the chief cause of dis-

apital To the interests of the ar attention It was by the had risen to power, and they

resort, if such an emergency able him to preserve it

If all be right, with joy ear the rand Mecanas about restoring In loud applauses to the ate of them, when Agrippa gave his re, and Mecanas opposed it.

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A courtly answer from the Profe ne attended Therius We shall hear emperor

The object of this consultation, in respect to its future conse quences on society is perhaps the most important ever agitated in any cabinet, and required, for the mature discussion of it, the whole collective wisdom of the ablest men in the empire. But this was a resource which could scarcely be adopted either with security to the public quiet, or with unbiassed judgment in the determination of the question. The bare agitation of such a point would have exerted immediate and strong anxiety for its final result; while the friends of a republican govern ment, who were still far more numerous than those of the other party would have strained every nerve to procure a determi nation in their own favour, and the prestorian guards, the surest protection of Augustus, finding their situation rendered precarrous by such an unexpected occurrence would have readily hatened to the secret propositions and intrigues of the republicans for securing their acquiescence to the decision on the popular side. If when the subject came into debate Augustus should be smeere in the declaration to abide by the resolution of the council, it is boyond all doubt, that the restoration of a republican government would have been voted by a great ma ority of the assembly If, on the contrary he should not be suncere, which is the more probable supposition and should incur the suspicion of practising secretly with members for a decision according to his wish, he would here rendered himself obnoxious to the public odrum, and given race to discontents which might have endangered his future security

But to submit this important question to the free and unbiased decision of a numerous assembly it is probable, neither suited the inclusation of Augustos, nor perhaps, in his opinion, consisted with his personal safety. With a view to the attain ment of unconstitutional power he had formerly deserted the cause of the republic when its affairs were in a prosperous situation; and now when his end was accomplished, there could be little ground to expect, that he should voluntarily relinquish the prize for which he had spill the best hlood of Rome and contended for so many years. Ever since the final defeat of Antony in the buttle of Actium, he had governed the Roman state with uncontrolled authority; and though there is in the nature of unlimited power as untordeating quality injurious both to public and private virtue yet all history contradicts the supposition of its being endued with ny which is unpulstable to

the general taste of mankud.

There were two chief motives by which Augustus would naturally be influenced in a deliberation on this important subject; namely the love of power and the personal danger which he might ineur from relinquishing it. Either of these motives might have been a sufficient inducement for retaining his authority, but when they both concurred, as they seem to have done upon this occasion, their united force was irresistible. The argument, so far as relates to the love of power, rests upon a ground, concerning the solidity of which, httle doubt can be entertained but it may be proper to inquire, in a few words, into the foundation of that personal danger which he dreaded to

ineur, on returning to the station of a private citizen Augustus, as has been already observed, had formerly sidec with the party which had attempted to restore public liberty · after the death of Julius Cosar but he afterwards abandoned the popular cause, and joined in the ambitious plans of Antony and Lepidus to usurp amongst themselves the entire dominion By this change of conduct, he turned his arms against the supporters of a form of government which he had virtually recognized as the legal constitution of Rome, and it involved a direct implication of treason against the sacred representatives of that government, the consuls, formally and duly elected Upon such a charge he might be amenable to the capital laws of his country. This, however, was a danger which might be fully obviated, by procuring from the senate and people an act of oblivion, previously to his abdication of the supreme power, and this was a preliminary which doubtless they would have admitted and ratified with unanimous approbation It therefore appears that he could be exposed to no inevitable danger on this account but there was another quarter where his person was vulnerable, and where even the laws might not be sufficient to protect him against the efforts of private resentment The bloody proscription of the Triumvirate no act of amnesty could ever erase from the minds of those who had been deprived by it of their nearest and dearest relations, and amidst the numerous connections of the illustrious men sacrificed on that horrible occasion, there might arise some desperate avenger, whose indelible resentment nothing less would satisfy than the blood of the surviving delinquent Augustus, therefore, might not, like his great predecessor, be stabbed in the senate-house, he might perish by the sword or the poniard in a less conspicuous situation. After all, there seems to have been little danger from this quarter likewise for Sylla, who in the preceding age had been guilty of equal enormities, was permitted, on relinquishing the place of perpetual dictator, to end his days in quiet retirement, and the undisturbed security which Augustus ever afterwards enjoyed, affords sufficient proof, that all apprehension of danger to his person was merely chimerical

We have hitherto considered this grand consultation as it might be influenced by the passions or pregudices of the emperor: we shall now take a short view of the subject in the light in which it is connected with considerations of a political nature, and with public utility. The arguments handed down by history respecting this consultation are few, and imperfectly delivered; but they may be extended upon the general principles main

tained on each side of the question For the restoration of the republican government, it might be contended, that from the expulsion of the kings to the distatorship of Julius Crear, through a period of upwards of four hundred and sixty years, the Roman state, with the exception only of a short in terral had flourished and increased with a degree of prospenty unexampled in the annals of human kind : that the republican form of government was not only best adapted to the improvement of national grandeur but to the security of general freedom, the great object of all political association , that public virtue, by which alone nations could subsist in vigour was chemshed and protected by no mode of administration so much as by that which connected in the strongest bonds of union the private interests of individuals with those of the community; that the habits and prejudices of the Roman people were unalturably attached to the form of government established by so long a prescription, and they would never submit, for any length of time, to the rule of one person, without making every possible effort to recover their liberty; that though despotism, under a mild and wise prince might in some respects be regarded as prefer able to a constitution which was occasionally exposed to the inconvenience of faction and popular tumults, yet it was a dangerous experiment to abandon the government of the nation to the contingency of such a variety of characters as usually occurs in the succession of princes; and, upon the whole, that the in terests of the people were more safely entrusted in the hands of annual magistrates elected by themselves, than in those of any individual whose power was permanent, and subject to no legal control.

In favour of despote government it might be urged that though Rome had subsisted long and glorously under a republican form of government, yet she had often experienced such violent shocks from popular tunnils or the factions of the great, as had threatened her with imminent destruction; that a republican governmentwas only accommodated to a people amongst whom the diri sion of property gave to no class of citizens such a degree of preemmence as might prove dangerous to public freedom; that there was required in this form of political constitution a sim-

plicity of life and strictness of manners which are never observed to accompany a high degree of public prosperity—that in respect of all these considerations, such a form of government was utterly incompatible with the present circumstances of the Romans that by the conquest of so many foreign nations, by the lucrative governments of provinces, the spoils of the enemy in war, and the rapine too often practised in time of peace, so great had been the aggrandizement of particular families in the preceding age, that though the form of the ancient constitution should still remain inviolate, the people would no longer live under a free republic, but an aristocratical usurpation, which was always productive of tyranny that nothing could preserve the commonwealth from becoming a prey to some daring confederacy, but the firm and vigorous administration of one person, invested with the whole executive power of the state, unlimited and uncontrolled in fine, that as Rome had been nursed to maturity by the government of six princes successively, so it was only by a similar form of political constitution that she could now be saved from aristocratical tyranny on one hand, or, on the other, from absolute anarchy

On whichever side of the question the force of argument may be thought to preponderate, there is reason to believe that Augustus was guided in his resolution more by inclination and prejudice than by reason. It is related, however, that he sitating between the opposite opinions of his two counsellors, he had recourse to that of Virgil, who joined with Mecænas in advising him to retain the imperial power, as being the form of government most suitable

to the circumstances of the times

It is proper in this place to give some account of the two ministers above-mentioned, Agrippa and Mecænas, who composed the cabinet of Augustus at the settlement of his government, and seem to be the only persons employed by him in a ministerial

- capacity during his whole reign

M Vipsanius Agrippa was of obscure extraction, but rendered himself conspicuous by his military talents. He obtained a victory over Sextus Pompey, and in the battles of Philippi and Actium, where he displayed great valour, he contributed not a little to establish the subsequent power of Augustus. In his expeditions afterwards into Gaul and Germany, he performed many signal achievements, for which he refused the honours of a triumph. The expenses which others would have lavished on that frivolous spectacle, he applied to the more laudable purpose of embellishing Rome with magnificent buildings, one of which, the Pantheon, still remains. In consequence of a dispute with Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, he retired to Mitylene,

whence, after an absence of two years, he was recalled by the emperor. He first marned Pomponia, the daughter of the celebrated Attieus, and atterwards one of the Marcellas, the neces of Augustus. While the lady by whom he had children, was still hiring the emperor prevailed upon he sutter Octavia to renga to him her son-in law and gave him in marriage his own daughter Julia; so strong was the desire of Augustus to be united with him in the closest alliance. The high degree of favour in which he stood with the emperor was soon after evinced by a farther mark of esteem; to during a visit to the Roman provinces of Greece and Ana, in which Augustus was absent two years, he left the government of the empire to the care of Agrappa. While this minister enjoyed, and mideed seems to have merited, all the partiality of Augustus, he was likewise a favourite with the people. He died at Rome, in the surty first year of his age, universally lamented; and his remains were deposited in the tomb which Augustus had prepared for himself. Agrapps left by Julia three sons, Caius, Lecrus, and Posthumus Agrapps, with two daughters.

Agrippine and Julia

O Cilnius Mecenas was of Tuscan extraction, and derived his descent from the ancient kings of that country Though in the highest degree of favour with Augustus, he never aspired beyond the rank of the equestrian order; and though he might have held the government of extensive provinces by deputies, he was con tent with enjoying the presenters of the city and Italy; a mina-tion, however which must have been attended with extensive patronage. He was of a gay and social disposition. In princi-ple he is said to here been of the Epicurean sect, and in his dress and manners to have bordered on effeminacy With respect to his political talents, we can only speak from conjecture; but from his being the confidential minister of a prince of so much discern ment as Augustus, during the misney of a new form of govern ment in an extensive empire, we may presume that he was en dowed with no common abilities for that important station. The liberal patronage which he displayed towards men of genius and talents, will render his name for ever celebrated in the annals of learning. It is to be regretted that history has transmitted no particulars of this extraordinary personage of whom all we know is derived chiefly from the writings of Virgil and Horace; but from the manner in which they address him, anudst the famili arity of their intercourse there is the strongest reason to suppose that he was not less amiable and respectable in private life than illustrious in public situation. "O my glory I" is the emphatic expression employed by them both.

O decus, O fame merito pars maxima nostre Vir Georg ii
Light of my life, my glorv, and my guide'
O et præsidium et dulce decus meum Hor Ode I.
My glory and my patron thou!

One would be inclined to think, that there was a nicety in the sense and application of the word decus, amongst the Romans, with which we are unacquainted, and that, in the passages now adduced, it was understood to refer to the honour of the emperor's patronage, obtained through the means of Mecænas, otherwise, such language to the minister might have excited the jealousy of Augustus But whatever foundation there may be for this conjecture, the compliment was compensated by the superior adulation which the poets appropriated to the emperor, whose defication is more than insinuated, in sublime intimations, by Virgil

Tuque adeo quem mox quæ sint habitura deorum Concilia, incertum est, urbisne invisere, Cæsar, Terrarumque velis curam, et te maximus orbis Auctorem frugum, tempestatumque potentem Accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto An Deus immensi venias maris, ac tua nautæ Numina sola colant tibi serviat ultima Thule, Teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis <sup>8</sup> Geor 1 l 25 vi

Thou Cæsar, chief where'er thy voice ordain
To fix midst gods thy yet unchosen reign—
Wilt thou o'er cities fix thy guardian sway,
While earth and all her realms thy nod obey'
The world's vast orb shall own thy genial power,
Giver of fruits, fair sun, and favouring shower,
Before thy altar grateful nations bow,
And with maternal myrtle wreathe thy brow,
O'er boundless ocean shall thy power prevail,
Thee her sole lord the world of waters hail,
Rule where the sea remotest Thule laves,
While Tethys dowers thy bride with all her waves

Sotheby

Horace has elegantly adopted the same strain of compliment

Te multa prece, te prosequitur mero Defuso pateris, et Laribus tuum Miscet numen, uti Græcia Castoris Et magni memor Herculis

Carm IV 5

To thee he chauts the sacred song,
To thee the rich libation pours,
Thee placed his household gods among,
With solemn daily prayer adores
So Castor and great Herculcs of old,
Were with her gods by grateful Greece enrolled.

The panegyric bestowed upon Augustus by the great poets of that time appears to have had a farther object than the mere grainfleation of vanity. It was the ambition of this emperor to reign in the hearts as well as over the persons of his subjects; and with this view he was desirous of endearing himself to their imagination. Both he and Moceenas had a delicate sensibility to the besuties of poetical composition; and judging from their own feelings, they attached a high degree of influence to the charms of poetry Impressed with these sentiments it became an object of importance in their opinion, to engage the Muses in the service of the imperial authority; on which account, we flud Mecenas tempering with Propertius, and we may prosume, likewise with every other rising genms in poetry to undertake an herole poem, of which Augustus should be the hero. As the application to Propertius cannot have taken place until after Augustus had been simply celebrated by the superior abilities of Virgil and Hornes there seems to be some reason for ascribing Meccania a request to a political motive Caius and Lucius, the emperor a grandsons by his daughter Julia, were still living and both young. As one of them, doubtless, was intended to succeed to the government of the empure, pradence justified the adoption of every expedient that might tend to secure a quiet succession to the heir upon the demise of Augustus. As a subsidiary resource, therefore, the expedient above mentioned was judged highly plausible; and the Roman enhant indulged the idea of endeavouring to confirm imperial authority by the support of poetical renown. Lampoons against the government were not uncommon even in the time of Augustus; and elegant panegyric on the emperor serred to counterset their influence upon the minds of the people. The idea was, perhaps, novel in the time of Augustus; but the history of later ages affords examples of its having been adopted, under different forms of government, with FUCCCES,

The Roman empire, in the time of Augustus, had attained to a produce an anguistude; and, in his testament, he recommended to his successors mover to exceed the limits which he had prescribed to its extent. On the Kast it stretched to the Eurhpaires; on the South to the extracted of the Fille the deserts of Afren, and Hount Atlas; on the West to the Atlantic Occun; and on the North to the Dandes and the Rhine; including the best part of the then known world. The Romans, therefore were not improperly called revues demans, and Rome put berrises, means across. Even the historium, Lary and Tactus.

actuated likewise with admiration, bestow magnificent epithets on the capital of their country. The succeeding emperors, in conformity to the advice of Augustus, made few additions to the empire. Trajan, however, subdued Mesopotamia and Armenia, east of the Euphrates, with Dacia, north of the Danube, and after this period the Roman dominion was extended over Britain, as far as the Frith of Forth and the Clyde

It would be an object of curiosity to ascertain the amount of the Roman revenue in the reign of Augustus, but such a problem, even with respect to contemporary nations, cannot be elucidated without access to the public registers of their governments, and in regard to an ancient monarchy, the investigation is impracticable. We can only be assured that the revenue must have been immense, which arose from the accumulated contribution of such a number of nations, that had supported their own civil establishments with great splendour, and many of which were celebrated for their extraordinary riches and commerce The tribute paid by the Romans themselves, towards the support of the government, was very considerable during the latter ages of the republic, and it received an increase after the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa The establishments, both civil and military, in the different provinces, were supported at their own expense, the emperor required but a small naval force, an arm which adds much to the public expenditure of maritime nations in modern times, and the state was burdened with no diplomatic charges The vast treasure accruing from the various taxes centered in Rome, and the whole was at the disposal of the emperor, without any control We may therefore justly conclude that, in the amount of taxes, customs, and every kind of financial resources, Augustus exceeded all sovereigns who had hitherto ever swayed the sceptre of imperial dominion, a noble acquisition, had it been judiciously employed by his successors, in promoting public happiness, with half the profusion in which it was lavished in disgracing human nature, and violating the rights of mankind

The reign of Augustus is distinguished by the most extraordinary event recorded in history, either sacred or profane, the nativity of the Saviour of mankind, which has since introduced a new epoch into the chronology of all Christian nations. The commencement of the new æra being the most flourishing period of the Roman empire, a general view of the state of knowledge.

and taste at this period, may here not be improper

Civilization was at this time extended farther over the world than it had ever been in any preceding period, but polytheism rather in x-eased than diminished with the advancement of commercial intercourse between the nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa and, though philosophy had been cultivated during several ages, at Athens, Oyrens, Bome, and other scats of learning yet the morals of mankind were hitle improved by the dif fusion of speculative knowledge. Socrates had laid an admirable foundation for the improvement of human nature, by the exertion of reason through the whole economy of life but succeed ing inquirers, forsaking the true path of ethic investigation. deriated into specious discussions, rather ingenious than useful; and some of them, by gratultonaly adopting principles, which, so far from being supported by reason, were repugnant to its chetates, endeavoured to erect upon the basis of their respective doctrines a system peculiar to themselves. The doctrines of the Stores and Epicureans were in fact, permelous to somety; and those of the different academies, though more intimately connected with reason than the two former were of a nature too abstract to have any munediate or useful influence on life and manners. General discussions of truth and probability with magnificent declarations on the researe and the summum bowww. constituted the chief objects of attention amongst those who cultivated moral science in the shades of academical retirement. Geero endeavoured to bring back philosophy from speculation to practice, and clearly evinced the social duties to be founded in the neelterable dictates of virtues but it was easier to demon strate the truth of the principles which he maintained than to enforce their observance, while the morals of mankind were intle setuated by the exercise of reason alone.

The science chiefly cultivated at this period was rhotoric, which appears to have differed considerably from what now passes under the same name. The object of it was not so much justness of sentiment and propriety of expression as the art of declaiming, or speaking copiously upon any subject. It is mentioned by Varro as the reverse of logic; and they are distinguished from each other by a simile, that the former resembles the palm of the hand expanded, and the latter contracted into the flat. It is observable that logic, though a part of education in modern times, seems not to have been cultivated amount the Romans. Perhaps they were apprehensive, lest a scaence which concen tered the force of argument, might obstruct the cultivation of that which was mount to dilate it. Astronomy was long before known in the eastern nations but there is reason to believe, from a possage m Virgil, that it was little cultivated by the Romans; and it is certain, that in the reformation of the calendar Julius Cesar was chiefly indebted to the scientific knowledge of

Sosigenes, a mathematician of Alexandria The laws of the solar system were still but imperfectly known, the popular belief, that the sun moved round the earth, was universally maintained, and continued until the sixteenth century, when the contrary was proved by Copernicus There existed many celebrated tracts on mathematics, and several of the mechanical powers, particularly that of the lever, were cultivated with success cessary and useful rules of arithmetic were generally known The use of the load-stone not being as yet discovered, navigation was conducted in the day-time by the sun, and in the night, by the observation of certain stars Geography was cultivated during the present period by Strabo and Mela In natural philosophy little progress was made, but a strong desire of its improvement was entertained, particularly by Virgil Human anatomy being not yet introduced, physiology was imperfect Chemistry, as a science, was utterly unknown. In medicine, the writings of Hippocrates, and other Greek physicians, were in general the standard of practice, but the Materia Medica contained few remedies of approved quality, and abounded with useless substances, as well as with many which stood upon no other foundation than the whimsical notions of those who first introduced them Architecture flourished, through the elegant taste of Vitruvius, and the patronage of the emperor Painting, statuary, and music, were cultivated, but not with that degree of perfection which they had obtained in the Grecian states The musical instruments of this period were the flute and the lyre, to which may be added the sistrum, lately imported from Egypt But the chief glory of the period is its literature, of which we proceed to give some account.

At the head of the writers of this age, stands the emperor himself, with his minister Mecanas, but the works of both have almost totally perished It appears from the historian now translated, that Augustus was the author of several productions in prose, besides some in verse He wrote Answers to Brutus in relation to Cato, Exhortations to Philosophy, and the History of his own Life, which he continued, in thirteen books, down to the war of Cantabria. A book of his, written in hexameter verse, under the title of Sicily, was extant in the time of Suetonius, as was likewise a book of Epigrams He began a tragedy on the subject of Ajax, but, being dissatisfied with the composition, destroyed it Whatever the merits of Augustus may have been as an author, of which no judgment can be formed, his attachment to learning and eminent writers affords a strong presumption that he was not destitute of taste Mecanas is said to have written two tragedies, Octavia and Prometheus, a History of

Animals: a Treatise on Precious Stones: a Journal of the Life of Augustus; and other productions. Curlosity is strongly interested to discover the literary talents of a man so much distin guished for the esteem and patronage of them in others; but while we regret the impossibility of such a development, we scarcely can suppose the proficiency to have been small, where

the love and admiration were so great.

History was cultivated amongst the Romans during the present period, with uncommon success. This species of composition is calculated both for information and entertainment; but the chief design of it is to record all transactions relative to the public, for the purpose of enabling mankind to draw from past events a probable conjecture concerning the future; and, by knowing the steps which have led either to prospenty or mis fortune, to ascertain the best means of promoting the former and avoiding the latter of those objects. This useful kind of narrative was introduced about five hundred years before by Herodotus, who has thence received the appellation of the Father of History His style, in conformity to the habits of thinking, and the simplicity of language in an uncultivated age, is plain and unadorned; yet, by the happy modulation of the lonio dislect, it gratuled the ear and allorded to the states of Greece a pleasing mixture of entertainment, enriched not only with various information often undeed fabulous or unauthentic, but with the rudiments, indirectly interspersed, of political wisdom. writer after a long interval, was succeeded by Thucydides and Yenophon, the former of whom carried historical narrative to the highest degree of improvement it ever attained among the States of Greece. The plan of Thucydides seems to have continued to be the model of historical narrative to the writers of Rome; but the excumstances of the times, aided perhaps by the splendid exertion of genius in other departments of literature, suggested a new resource which promised not only to animate but embellish the future productions of the historic Muse. This innovation con sisted in an attempt to penetrate the human heart and explore in its innermost recesses the sentiments and secret motives which actuate the conduct of men. By connecting moral effects with their probable internal and external causes, it tended to establish a systematic consistency in the concatenation of transactions apparently anomalous, accidental or totally independent of each other

The author of this improvement in history was Sallurar who likewise introduced the method of enlivening narrative with the occasional aid of rhetorical declamation, particularly in his account of the Catilinian conspiracy. The notorious

pervading the whole composition, this author may be regarded as one of the best models extant of historical narrative. His style is splendid without meretricious ornament, and copious without being redundant, a fluency to which Quintilian gives the expressive appellation of "lactea ubcrtas" Amongst the beauties which we admire in his writings, besides the animated speeches frequently interspersed, are those concise and peculiarly applicable eulogiums, with which he characterises every eminent person mentioned, at the close of their life Of his industry in collating, and his judgment in deciding upon the preference due to, dissentient authorities, in matters of testimony, the work affords numberless proofs Of the freedom and impartiality with which he treated even of the recent periods of history, there cannot be more convincing evidence, than that he was rallied by Augustus as a favourer of Pompey, and that, under the same emperor, he not only bestowed upon Cicero the tribute of warm approbation. but daied to ascribe, in an age when their names were obnoxious. even to Brutus and Cassius the virtues of consistency and patri-If in any thing the conduct of Livy violates our sentiments of historical dignity, it is the apparent complacency and reverence with which he every where mentions the popular belief in omens and prodigies, but this was the general superstition of the times, and totally to renounce the prejudices of superstitious education, is the last heroic sacrifice to philosophical scepticism In general, however, the credulty of Livy appears to be rather affected than real, and his account of the exit of Romulus, in the following passage, may be adduced as an instance in confirmation of this remark

"His immortalibus editis operibus, quum ad exercitum recensendum concionem in campo ad Capræ paludem haberet, subita coorta tempestate cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso 1 egem operuit nimbo ut conspectum ejus concioni abstulerit, nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit Romana pubes, sedato tandem pavoie, postquam ex tam turbido die serena, et tranquilla lux edut, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat Patribus, qui proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen veluti orbitatis metu icta, mæstum aliquamdiu silentium obtinuit Deinde a paucis initio facto, Deum, Deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanæ, salvere universi Romulum jubent, pacem piecibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitct Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos, qui discerptum legem Patrum manibus taciti arguerent, manavit enim hæc quoque, et perobscura, fama Illam alteram admiratio viri, et pavor præsens nobilitavit Consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides, namque Proculus Julius sollicita civitate desidvio regus, et infense Patribuz, gravis, ut traditur quanvis magnas rei auctor in conconem prodit. Romulus, inquit, Quintes, parens urbis hujus, prima bodierna luce colo repente delapsus, se min obrium dedit; quam profiums horrore venera bunduaque astitusem, petens precibus, ni contra interer fise sease; Abi, nuocus, inquit, Romanis, Celestes sta velle ut mos Roma esput orbis terrarum sit; promde rem militarem colant; se anique et ita posteris tradani, nullas opes humanis armis Romanis resistero posse. Hee, mquif, lecutus, sublimis abut. Mirum, quantum illi viro nuocasati hac fidel fuert; quanque desiderium Romuli apud plebem excrestumque facta fide immor talitatus lentum sit.

Scarcely any incident in ancient history savours more of the

After performing these immortal achievements, while he was be killing an assembly of the people for reviewing his army in the pialu near the lake of Capra, a storm suddenly rose, attended with great thunder and lightning and enveloped the king in so dense a mist, that it took all eight of him from the assembly. Nor was Rosewins after this seem on earth. The consternation being at length over and fine clear weather succeeding so turbulent a day when the Roman youth saw the royal sent empty (bough they readily believed the Pathers who had atood mearest him, that he was carried aloft by the storm, yet struck with the dread as it were of orphanage, they preserved a sorrow (al allence for a considerable time. Then a commencement having been made by a few the whole multitude salute Romalus a god, son of a god the king and parent of the Roman city : they implore his favour with prayers, that he would be pleased always prophiously to preserve his own offspring. I believe that even then there were some who allently surmised that the king had been torn in pieces by the hand of the Fathers; for this rumour also spread, but was not credited; their admiration of the man and the consternation fait at the moment, attached importance to the other report. By the contrivance also of one individual, add tional credit is said to have been gained to the matter. For Proculus Julius, whilst the state was still troubled with regret for the king and felt incessed against the senators, a person of weight, as we are told, in any matter however important, comes forward to the assembly "Romane," be said, "Romulus, the father of this city anddealy descending from heaven, appeared to me this day at day-break. While I stood covered with awe, and filled with a religious dread, beseeching him to allow me to see him face to face be said; Go tell the Romans, that the gods do will, that my Fome should become the capital of the world. Therefore let them cultivate the art of war and let them know and hand down to posterity that so human power shall be able to withstand the Roman arms. Having said this, he ascended up to beaven." It is surprising what credit was given to the man on his making this annonncement, and how much the regret of the common people and army for the loss of Rosselles, was assuaged upon the assurance of her Immortality

marvellous than the account above delivered respecting the first Roman king, and amidst all the solemnity with which it is related, we may perceive that the historian was not the dupe of There is more implied than the author thought proper to avow, in the sentence, Fuisse credo, &c In whatever light this ancedote be viewed, it is involved in perplexity Romulus affected a despotic power, is not only highly probable, from his aspiring disposition, but seems to be confirmed by his recent appointment of the Celeres, as a guard to his person might, therefore, naturally meur the odium of the patricians, whose importance was diminished, and their institution rendered abortive, by the increase of his power But that they should choose the opportunity of a military review, for the purpose of removing the tyrant by a violent death, seems not very consistent with the dictates even of common prudence, and it is the more meredible, as the circumstance which favoured the execution of the plot is represented to have been entirely a fortui-The tempest which is said to have happened, tous occurrence is not easily reconcilable with our knowledge of that phenomenon Such a cloud, or mist, as could have enveloped Romulus from the eyes of the assembly, is not a natural concomitant of a thunder storm There is some reason to suspect that both the noise and cloud, if they actually existed, were artificial, the former intended to divert the attention of the spectators, and the latter to conecal the transaction The word fragor, a noise or crash, appears to be an unnecessary addition where thunder is expressed, though sometimes so used by the poets, and may therefore, perhaps, imply such a noise from some other cause If Romulus was killed by any pointed or sharp-edged weapon, his blood might have been discovered on the spot, or, if by other means, still the body was equally an object for public observ-If the people suspected the patricians to be guilty of muider, why did they not endeavour to trace the fact by this evidence? And if the patricians were really innocent, why did they not urge the examination? But the body, without doubt, was secreted, to favour the imposture The whole narrative 18 strongly marked with circumstances calculated to affect credulity with ideas of national importance, and, to countenance the design, there is evidently a chasm in the Roman history immediately preceding this transaction and intimately connected with it

Livy was born at Patavium, and has been charged by Asimus Pollio and others with the provincial dialect of his country. The objections to his Pativinity, as it is called, relate chiefly to the

spelling of some words; in which, however there seems to be nothing so peculiar as either to occasion any obscurity or merit

reprehension

Lity and Salluat being the only two exuting ravals in Roman history at may not be improper to draw a short comparison between them, in respect of their principal qualities, as writers. With regard to language, there is less apparent affectation in Lity than in Salluat. The narrative of both is distinguished by an elevation of style; the elevation of Salluat seems to be often supported by the dignity of assumed virtue; that of Livy by a majestic sir of historical and sometimes national, importance. In delineating characters, Sallrat infuses more expression, and Lavy more fulness, into the features. In the specches sacribed to particular persons, these writers are equally elegant and animated.

So great was the fame of May in his own life-time, that people came from the ertremity of Bana and Gaul, for the purpose only of beholding so celebrated a historian, who was regarded, for his shillies, as a produgt. This affords a strong proof, not only of the literary taste which then prevailed over the most extensive of the Roman provinces, but of the extraordinary pains with which so great a work must have been propagated, when the art of printing was unknown. In the fifteenth century on the reviral of learning in Europe the name of this great writer recovered its ancest veneration; and Alphonno of Arragon with a supervition characteristic of that age, requested of the people of Fadra, where Liry was born, and is said to have been burned, to be fa voured by them with the hand which had written so admirable a work—

The elebrity of Visou. has proved the means of ascertaining his birth with more exactness than as common in the boggraphical memoirs of ancient writers. He was born at Andes, a village in the neighbourhood of Mantus, on the 16th of October seventy years before the Christian era. His parents were of moderate condition; but by their industry acquired some territorial possessions, which descended to their son. The first seven years of his life was spent at Cremons, whence he went to Medicianum, now Milan, at that time the seat of the liberal arts, denominated, as we learn from Piny the younger Nova Athenas. From this place he afterwards moved to Asples, where he applied himself with great satisfulty to Greek and Roman literature particularly to the physical and mathematical sciences; for which he expressed a strong prediction in the second book of his Georgica.

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Muse: Quarum sacra fero ingenti perculsus amore, Accipiant, cælique vias et sidera monstrent, Defectus Solis varios, Lunæque labores Unde tremor terris qua vi maria alta tumescant Obicibus ruptis, rursusque in seipsa residant Quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles Hiberni vel quæ tardis mora noctibus obstet

Geor n 1 591, &c.

But most beloved, ye Muses, at whose fane,
Led by pure zeal, I conscerate my strain,
Me first accept! And to my search unfold,
Heaven and her host in beauteous order rolled,
The eclipse that dims the golden orb of day,
And changeful labour of the lunar ray,
Whence rocks the earth, by what vast force the main
Now bursts its barriers, now subsides again,
Why wintry suns in ocean swiftly fade,
Or what delays night's slow descending shade

Sotheby

When, by a proscription of the Triumvirate, the lands of Cremona and Mantua were distributed amongst the veteran soldiers, Virgil had the good fortune to recover his possessions, through the favour of Asinius Pollio, the deputy of Augustus in those parts, to whom, as well as to the emperor, he has-testified

his gratitude in beautiful eclogues

The first production of Virgil was his Bucolics, consisting of ten eclogues, written in imitation of the Idyllia or pastoral poems It may be questioned whether any language of Theocritus which has its provincial dialects, but is brought to perfection, can ever be well adapted, in that state, to the use of pastoral poetry. There is such an apparent incongruity between the simple ideas of the rural swain and the polished language of the courtier, that it seems impossible to reconcile them together by the utmost The Doric dialect of Theocritus, therefore, art of composition abstractedly from all consideration of simplicity of sentiment, must ever give to the Sicilian bard a pre eminence in this species The greater part of the Bucolics of Virgil may be regarded as poems of a peculiar nature, into which the author has happily transfused, in elegant versification, the native manners and ideas, without any mixture of the rusticity of pastoral life respect to the fourth ecloque, addressed to Pollio, it is avowedly of a nature superior to that of pastoral subjects

> Sicelides Musæ, paullo majora canamus Sicilian Muse, be ours a loftier strain

Virgil engaged in bucolic poetry at the request of Asinius Pollic, whom he highly esteemed, and for one of whose sons in par-

ticular with Cornelius Gallus, a poet likewise he entertained the warmest affection. He has elebarted them all in these peems, which were begun, we are told, in the twenty ninth year of his age, and completed in three years. They were held in so treat exteem amongst the Romans, immediately after their pubication, that it is said they were frequently recited upon the stage for the entertainment of the audience. Clearen upon hear ing some lines of them, perceived that they were written in no common strain of poetry and desured that the whole cologue might be recited; which being done, he exclaimed, "Magnus spec alters Roman." Another hope of mighty Rome;

Virgil a pext work was the Georgies, the idea of which is taken from the Eora as Hasson the Works and Days of Hemod, the poet of Ascra. But between the productions of the two poots, there is no other similarity than that of their common sub ect. The precepts of Hound, in respect of agriculture, are delivered with all the simplicity of an unlettered cultivator of the fields, intermixed with plain moral reflections, natural and apposite; while those of Virgil, equally premse and important, are embellished with all the dignity of sublime versification. The work is addressed to Mecanas, at whose request it appears to have been undertaken. It is divided into four books treats of ploughing; the second, of planting; the third, of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, dogs, and of things which are hurtful to cattle; the fourth is employed on bees, their proper habitations, food, polity the diseases to which they are hable and the remedies of them, with the method of making honey and a variety of other considerations connected with the subject. The Georgies

<sup>1</sup> Commentators seem to have given an errorson and unbecoming seems to Cierco exclamation, when they repose that the object under stood as connected with altern, related to blankel! Hope is sever applied in this signification, but to a prone person, of whom something good or great is expected; and accordingly Virgil who adopted the expression, has very properly applied it to Assentian!

Et juxta Ascenius, magne spes altera Romm. Ænrid, xil.

And by his side Ascanius took his place, The second hope of Rome a immortal race.

Cierro, at the time when he could have heard a specimen of Virgit's Eclogue, must have been saur his grand ellimaterie; besides that, his virtues and talents had long here conspiceous, and were part the state of hops. It is probable, therefore, that afters referred to some third person, proken of immediately before, as one who promised to do besons to his country. It might refer to Octavins, of whom Cierro as this time entertained a high opinion; or It may have been spoken in an absorite manner without reference to any person.

were written at Naples, and employed the author during a pericd of seven years. It is said that Virgil had concluded the Georgics with a laboured eulogium on his poetical friend Gallus, but the latter incurring about this time the displeasure of Augustus he was induced to cancel it, and substitute the charming episode of

Astœus and Eurydice

These beautiful poems, considered merely as didactic, have the justest claim to utility. In what relates to agriculture in particular, the precepts were judiciously adapted to the climate of Italy, and must have conveyed much valuable information to those who were desirous of cultivating that important art, which was held in great honour amongst the Romans. The same remark may be made, with greater latitude of application, in respect of the other subjects. But when we examine the Georgics as poetical compositions, when we attend to the elevated style in which they are written, the beauty of the similes, the emphatic sentiments interspersed, the elegance of diction, the animated strain of the whole, and the harmony of the versification, our admiration is excited, at beholding subjects, so common in their nature, embellished with the most magnificent decorations of poetry

During four days which Augustus passed at Atella, to refresh himself from fatigue, in his return to Rome, after the battle of Actium, the Georgics, just then finished, were read to him by the author, who was occasionally relieved in the task by his friend Mecanas. We may easily conceive the satisfaction en joyed by the emperor, at finding that while he himself had been gathering laurels in the achievements of war, another glorious wreath was prepared by the Muses to adorn his temples, and that an intimation was given of his being afterwards celebrated

in a work more congenial to the subject of héroic renown

It is generally supposed that the Æneid was written at the particular desire of Augustus, who was ambitious of having the Julian family represented as lineal descendants of the Trojan Æneas. In this celebrated poem, Virgil has happily united the characteristics of the Iliad and Odyssey, and blended them so judiciously together, that they mutually contribute to the general effect of the whole. By the esteem and sympathy excited for the filial piety and misfortunes of Æneas at the catastrophe of Troy, the reader is strongly interested in his subsequent adventures, and every obstacle to the establishment of the Trojans is the promised land of Hesperia produces fresh sensations of increased admiration and attachment. The episodes, characters and incidents, all concin to give heauty or grandeur to the poem. The picture of Troy in flames can never be sufficiently

admired. The incomparable portrait of Priam, in Homer is admirably accommodated to a different actuation in the character of Anchises, in the Eneid. The prophete rage of the Cumean Sibyl displays in the strongest colours the enthusiasm of the poet. For sentiment, passion, and interesting description the epusode of Dido is a master-piece in poetry But Virgil is not more conspicuous for strength of description than propriety of sentiment; and wherever he takes a hint from the Greenan bard, he prosecutes the idea with a judgment peculiar to himself It may be sufficient to mention one instance In the sixth book of the Hiad, while the Greeks are making great alaughter amongst the Trojans, Hector by the advice of Helenus retires into the city to desire that his mother would offer up prayers to the goddess Pallas, and yow to her a noble sacrifice, if she would drive Diomede from the walls of Troy Immediately before his return to the field of battle, he has his last interview with Andromache, whom he meets with his infant son Astyanax carried by a nurse. There occurs, upon this occasion, one of the most beautiful scenes in the Iliad where Hector dandles the boy in his arms, and pours forth a prayer that he may one day be supersor in fame to his father. In the same manuer Eness, having armed himself for the decisive combat with Turnus, ad dresses his son Ascautus in a beautiful speech, which, while expressive of the strongest paternal affection contains, instead of a prayer a noble and emphatic admonition, suitable to a youth who had nearly attained the period of adult age. It is as inilawa e

> Disc, puer virtutem ez me, vrumque laborem ; Fotusam ex silla , mue te mes dextras belin Defensum dabit, et magas inter permit decet. Tu facito, mos cem matura subolevriti etca, Sis memor e et te aubno repetentem setmpla thorum, Et pater Ænesa, et arasculus szatlet Hector.—Ænsié, zii.

My son! from my example learn the war I a camp to order and in feed to dare. But happer chance than mine stread thy care! This day my hand thy tender spa shall shield, And crown with hosoem of the conquered field. Thou when thy riper years shall send thee forth To tolls of war be missful of my worth; Assert thy birthright, and in arms be known, For Illector's nephew and Entess son.

Virgil, though born to shine by his own intrinsic powers, certainly owed much of his excellence to the wonderful ments of Homer His susceptible imagination, vivid and correct, was impregnated by the Odyssey, and warmed with the fire of the Iliad Rivalling, or rather on some occasions surpassing his glorious predecessor in the characters of heroes and of gods, he sustains their dignity with so uniform a lustre, that they seem indeed more than mortal

Whether the Iliad or the Æneid be the more perfect composition, is a question which has often been agitated, but perhaps will never be determined to general satisfaction. In comparing the genius of the two poets, however, allowance ought to be made for the difference of circumstances under which they composed their respective works Homer wrote in an age when mankind had not as yet made any great progress in the exertion of either intellect or imagination, and he was therefore indebted for his resources to the vast capacity of his own mind To this we must add, that he composed both his poems in a situation of life extremely unfavourable to the cultivation of poetry Virgil, on the contrary, lived at a period when literature had attained to a high state of improvement He had likewise not only the advantage of finding a model in the works of Homer, but of perusing the laws of epic poetry, which had been digested by Aristotle, and the various observations made on the writings of the Greek bard by entics of acuteness and taste, amongst the chief of whom was his friend Horace, who remarks that

quandoque benus dormitat Homerus — De Arte Poet
E'en sometimes the good Homer naps

Virgil, besides, composed his poem in a state remote from indigence, where he was roused to exertion by the example of several contemporary peets, and what must have animated him beyond every other consideration, he wrote both at the desire, and under the patronage of the emperor and his minister Meemas time Homer composed either of his poems, we know not, but the Æneid, we are informed, was the employment of Virgil during eleven years For some years, the repeated entreaties of Augustus could not extort from him the smallest specimen of the work, but at length, when considerably advanced in it, he condescended to recite three books—the second, the fourth, and the sixth—in the presence of the emperor and his sister Octavia, to gratify the latter of whom, in particular, the recital of the last book new mentioned, was intended When the poet came to the words, Tu Marcellus errs, alluding to Octavia's son, a youth of great hopes, who had lately died, the mother fainted After she had recovered from this fit, by the care of her attendants, she ordered ten sesterees to be given to Virgil for every line relating

to that subject; a gratuity which amounted to about two thousand pounds sterling

In the composition of the Ænced, Virgit sampled not to introduce whole lines of Homer and of the Letin poet Ennius; many of whose sentences he admired. In a few instances he has bor rowed from Lucretius. He is ead to have been at extraordinary pairs in polithing his numbers; and when he was doubtful of any passage, he would read it to some of his friends, that he might have their opinion. On such occasions, it was usual with him to consult in particular his freedman and libraran Erotes, an old domestic, who, it is related supplied extempore a deficiency in two lines, and was desired by his master to write them in the

manuscript.

When this immortal work was completed, Virgil resolved on retiring into Greece and Asia for three years, that he might

retining into Greece and Aria for three years, that he might devote himself entirely to polishing it, and have leisure after wards to pass the remainder of his life in the cultivation of philosophy. But meeting at Athens with Augustus, who was on his return from the East, he determined on accompanying the emperor back to Rome. Upon a visit to Megara, a town in the neighbourhood of Athens, he was somed with a languor which increased during the ensuing voyage; and he expired a few days after landing at Brundhium, on the Zünd of September in the fifty-accord year of his ago. He dealered that his body might be carried to Naples, where he had pessed many happy year; and that the following distict, written in his last sackness, should be inscribed upon his tomb.

## Mantua me genuit; Calabri rapuare tenet nunc Parthenopa escial pascua, rura, docea,

He was accordingly interred, by the order of Augustus, with great funeral pomp, within two miles of Naples, near the road to Putcoli, where his tomb still exists. Of his catate, which was very considerable by the liberality of his friends, he left the greater part to Valeruss Proculus and his brother a fourth to Augustus, a twelfth to Meccanas besides legacies to L. Varius and Plotius Tucca, who, in consequence of his own request, and the command of Augustus, retued and corrected the Amend after his death. Their instructions from the emperor were, to expunge whatever they thought improper, but upon no account to make any addition. This restriction is supposed to be the cause that many luces in the Amed are imperfect.

Virgil was of large stature, had a dark complexion, and his I was bors at Manten, died in Calabria, and my tomb is at Parthasope pertures, raral affairs, and heroes are the themes of my poems. features are said to have been such as expressed no uncommon abilities. He was subject to complaints of the stomach and throat, as well as to head-ache, and had frequent discharges of blood upwards but from what part, we are not informed. He was very temperate both in food and wine. His modesty was so great, that at Naples they commonly gave him the name of Parthenias, "the modest man". On the subject of his modesty, the following anecdote is related.

Having written a distich, in which he compared Augustus to Jupiter, he placed it in the night-time over the gate of the em-

peror's palace It was in these words

Nocte pluit totă, redeunt spectacula mane Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet

All night it rained, with morn the sports appear, Cæsar and Jove between them rule the year

By order of Augustus, an inquiry was made after the author, and Virgil not declaring himself, the verses were claimed by Bathyllus, a contemptible poet, but who was liberally rewarded on the occasion. Virgil, provoked at the falsehood of the impostor, again wrote the verses on some conspicuous part of the palace, and under them the following line.

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honores,
I wrote the verse, another filched the praise,
with the beginning of another line in these words

Sic vos, non nobis, Not for yourselves, you—

repeated four times Augustus expressing a desire that the lines should be finished, and Bathyllus proving unequal to the task. Virgil at last filled up the blanks in this manner

Sic vos, non vobis, nidificatis, aves, Sic vos, non vobis, vellera fertis, oves, Sic vos, non vobis, mellificatis, apes; Sic vos, non vobis, fertis aratra, boves

Not for yourselves, ve birds, your nests ye build, Not for yourselves, ve sheep, your fleece ve yield, Not for yourselves, ye bees, your cells ye fill, Not for yourselves, ye beeves, ye plough and till

The expedient immediately evinced him to be the author of the distich, and Bathyllus became the theme of public ridicule

When at any time Virgil came to Rome, if the people, as ras commonly the case, crowded to gaze upon him, or pointed at him with the finger in admiration, he blushed, and stole away

from them; frequently taking refuge in some shop. When he went to the theatre, the audience universally rose up at his entance, as they did to Augustus, and received him with the loudest plandin; a compliment which, however highly honourable he would gladly have decimed. When such was the just respect which they pead to the author of the Bucoles and Georgies, how would they have expressed their esteem, had they behad him in the efflugence of epie resown! In the beautiful episods of the Elysian fields, in the Emed, where he destroously introduced a glorious duplay of their country he had touched the most elastic purgue of Boman cuthonsian. The passon would have rebounded upon himself, and they would, in the heat of ad miration, have Idolated him.—

Horaca was born at Venues, on the tenth of December in the consulating of L. Cotts and L. Torquains. According to his own acknowledgment, his father was a freedman; by some it is said that he was a collector of the roreous and by others, a fish monger or adselvrin said mass. Whatever he was, he paid particular attention to the education of his son, for after receiving intruction from the best master in Rome, he sent him to Athens to study philosophy. From this place, Horace followed Brutus in the quality of a military tribune, to the battle of Philippn, where, by his own confession, being sensed with timidity he abundoned the profession of a soldier and returning to Rome, applied himself to the cultivation of poetry. In a short time he acquired the friendatup of Virgil and Valerus, whom he men times in his Stirce, in terms of the most tender affection.

Posters Inx octure malos gratisaima: namque Postina et Varios Sinaesses, Virgilinorqua, Occarrunt animus, qualen negen candidatora Terra tollit, sepoca quats me sit derinactior alter O qui complexus, et gracia quanta foarmati Nil ego contralerim juccado manus animo —Sat I b. Nest rising mora with deoble for we great.

For Picture, Varius, Virgul, here we meet the Corner known, For none my heart with more affection glows: How of did we curbeset, our joys how great! For none my heart with man affection glows: How of did we curbeset, our joys how great! For none my heart with many man as bleading in the power of fats. Can be compared, in sanity of admid.

To friends of such companionable kind -Francis.

By the two friends above mentioned, he was recommended to the patronage not only of Meccana, but of Augustus, with whom he, as well as Virgil lived on a footing of the greatest intimacy Satisfied with the luxury which be enjoyed at the first fables in Home, he was so unambitious of any public employment, that when the emperor offered him the place of his secretary, he declined it. But as he lived in an elegant manner, having, besides his house in town, a cottage on his Sabine farm, and a villa at Tibur, near the falls of the Anio, he enjoyed, beyond all doubt a handsome establishment, from the liberality of Augustus. He indulged himself in indolence and social pleasure, but was at the same much devoted to reading, and enjoyed a tolerable good state of health, although often incommoded with a fluxion of rheum upon the eyes

Horace, in the ardour of youth, and when his bosom beat high with the raptures of fancy, had, in the pursuit of Grecian literature, drunk largely, at the source, of the delicious springs of Castalia, and it seems to have been ever after his chief ambition, to transplant into the plains of Latium the palm of lyric poetry

Nor did he fail of success

Exegu monumentum ære perennius — Carm in 30 More durable than brass a monument I've raised.

In Greece, and other countries, the Ode appears to have been the most ancient, as well as the most popular species of literary production. Warm in expression, and short in extent, it concentrates in narrow bounds the fire of poetical transport on which account, it has been generally employed to celebrate the fervours of piety, the raptures of love, the enthusiasm of praise, and to animate warriors to glorious exertions of valour

Musa dedit fidibus Divos, puerosque Deorum,
Et pugilem victorem, et equum certamine primum,
Et juvenum curas, et libera vina referre.—Hor De Arte Poet
The Muse to nobler subjects tunes her lyre,
Gods, and the sons of Gods, her song inspire,
Wrestler and steed, who gained the Olympic prize,
Love's pleasing cares, and wine's unbounded joys—Francis
Misenum Æoliden, quo non præstantior alter
Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cnatu

Virgil, Eneid, VI

Sed tum forte cava dum personat æquora concha Demens, et cantu vocat in certamina Divos — Ibid

Misenus, son of Colus, renowned The warrior trumpet in the field to sound, With breathing brass to kindle fierce alarms, And rouse to dare their fate in honourable arms

The last members of these two lines, from the commas to the end are said to have been supplied by Erotes, Virgil's librarian

## \* \* \* \* \* \* \* Swollen with appliance and aiming still at more, He now provokes the sea-gods from the above.—Drycles

There arose in this department, among the Greeks, none eminent poets, vis. Alexan, Aleman, Anaeron Bacchylides Blurgs Sappho, Stesichorus, Smonides and Pindar The greater number of this distinguished class are now known only by name. They seem all to have differed from one another no less in the kind of measure which they chiefly or solely employed than in the strength or softness, the beauty or grandeur the animated rapidity or the graceful case of their various compositions. Of the amorous effusions of the lyre, we yet have examples in the odes of Anaeroen, and the incomparable ode of Sappho: the lyric strains which animated to battle, have sunk into oblivion; but the victors in the public games of Greece have their sime per

petusted in the admirable productions of Pindar Horace, by adopting in the multiplicity of his subjects almost all the various measures of the different Greek poets, and fre quently combining different measures in the same composition, has compensated for the dislects of that tongue so happily suited to poetry and given to a language less distinguished for soft in flexions, all the tender and delicate modulations of the Eastern While he moves in the measures of the Greeks with an case and gracefulness which rivals their own acknowledged excel lence, he has enriched the fund of lyric harmony with a stanza peculiar to himself. In the artifletal construction of the Ode he may justly be regarded as the first of lyric poets. In beauti ful magery he is inferior to none: in variety of sentiment and felicity of expression, superior to every existing competitor m Greek or Roman poetry He is elegant without affectation and what is more remarkable, in the midst of galety he is moral. seldom meet in his Odes with the abrupt apostrophes of passionatn excursion , but his transitions are conducted with ease, and every subject introduced with propriety

The Grosses Sceniars was written at the express desire of An gustus, for the celebration of the Secular Games, performed once in a hundred years, and which continued during three days and three nights, whits all Rome resounded with the mingled effin stons of choral addresses to gods and goddesses, and of festive foy. An occasion which so much interested the ambition of the poet, called into exertion the most vigorous cliorts of his genus. More concess in mythological stributes than the hymna sacribed to Homer this beautiful production in varioty and granders of servention and in norm of numbers, surpasses all that Grasses.

melodious but simple in the service of the altar, ever poured forth from her vocal groves in solemn adoration. By the force of native genius, the ancients elevated their heroes to a pitch of sublimity that excites admiration, but to soar beyond which they could derive no aid from mythology, and it was reserved for a bard, inspired with nobler sentiments than the Muses could supply, to sing the praises of that Being whose ineffable perfections transcend all human imagination. Of the praises of gods and heroes, there is not now extant a more beautiful composition, than the 12th Ode of the first book of Horace

Quem virum aut licroa lyra ve. acri Tibia sumes celebrare, Cho? Quem Deum? cujus recinet jocosa Nomea imago Aut in umbrosis Heliconis ons, &c.

What man, what hero, on the tuneful lyre,
Or sharp-toned flute, will Cho choose to raise,
Deathless, to fame? What God? whose hallowed name
The sportive image of the voice
Shall in the shades of Helicon repeat, &e

The Satires of Horace are far from being remarkable for poet ical harmony, as he himself acknowledges Indeed, according to the plan upon which several of them are written, it could scarcely They are frequently colloquial, sometimes interbe otherwise rogatory, the transitions quick, and the apostrophes abrupt was not his object in those compositions, to soothe the ear with the melody of polished numbers, but to rally the frailties of the heart, to convince the understanding by argument, and thence to put to shame both the vices and follies of mankind species of composition, of which the Greeks furnished no model, and the preceding Roman writers of this class, though they had much improved it from its original rudeness and licentiousness, had still not brought it to that degree of perfection which might answer the purpose of moral reform in a polished state of society It received the most essential improvement from Horace, who has dexterously combined wit and argument, raillery and sarcasm, on the side of morality and virtue, of happiness and truth

The Epistles of this author may be reckoned amongst the most valuable productions of antiquity. Except those of the second book, and one or two in the first, they are in general of the familiar kind, abounding in moral sentiments, and judicious observations on life and manners.

The poem De Arte Poetica comprises a system of criticism, in justness of principle and extent of application, correspondent to the various exertions of genius on subjects of invention end taste

That in composing this excellent production he availed himself of the most approved works of Greenan original, we may conclude from the advice which he there recommends:

Noctural versate manil, versate disruit.

Make the Greek authors your supreme delight.

Read them by day and study them by night.—Francis.

In the writings of Horace there appears a fund of good sense, enlivened with pleasantry and refined by philosophical reflection. He had cultivated his judgment with great application and his taste was guided by intuitive perception of moral beauty apti-tude, and propriety. The few instances of indelicacy which occur in his compositions, we may ascribe rather to the manners of the times, than to any blemeable propensity in the author Horaco died in the fifty-seventh year of his age surviving his beloved Mecenna only three weeks; a circumstance which, added to the declaration in an ode? to that personage supposed to have been written in Meccenas s last illness, has given rise to a con jecture, that Horace ended his days by a violent death, to ac company his friend But it is more natural to conclude that he died of excessive grief, as, had he laterally adhered to the affirma tion contained in the ode, he would have followed his patron more closely. This seems to be confirmed by a fact immediately preceding his death; for though he declared Augustus hear to his whole estate he was not able on account of weakness to put his menature to the will; a failure which it is probable that he would have taken care to obviate, had his death been premeditated. He was interred, at his own degree, near the tomb of Meccenas ---

Otto was born of an equestran family at Sulmo, a fown of the Peligm, on the 21st of March, in the consulary of Hirtms and Panas. His father intended him for the bar; and after passing him through the usual course of instruction at Rome, he was sent to Athens, the emporium of learning to complete his cluration. On his return to Rome, in obedience to the desire of his father, he entered upon the offices of public life in the forum, and declarmed with great applause. But this was the effect of paternal authority not of choice for from his carliest years he discovered an extreme attachment to poetry and no sooner was his father dead, than romonemy the bar he devoted himself entirely to the cultivation of that facenating art, his propensity to which was invancible. His production, all written either in herole or pentameter rerse, are numerous, and on various subjects. It will be sufficient to mention them briefly

The Heroides consist of twenty-one Epistles, all which, except three, are feighed to be written from celebrated women of antiquity, to their husbands or lovers—such as Penelope to Ulysses, Dido to Æncas, Sappho to Phaon, &c—These compositions are nervous, animated and elegant—they discover a high degree of poetic enthusiasm, but blended with that lascivious turn of thought, which pervades all the amorous productions of this celebrated author

The elegies on subjects of love, particularly the Ars Amandi, or Ars Amatoria, though not all uniform in versification, possess the same general character, of warmth of passion, and luscious

description, as the epistles

The Fasti were divided into twelve books, of which only the first six now remain. The design of them was to deliver an account of the Roman festivals in every month of the year, with a description of the rites and ceremonies, as well as the sacrifices on those occasions. It is to be regretted, that, on a subject so interesting, this valuable work should not have been transmitted entire but in the part which remains, we are furnished with a beautiful description of the ceremonial transactions in the Roman calendar, from the first of January to the end of June The versification, as in all the compositions of this author, is easy and harmonious

The most popular production of this poet is his Metamoi phoses, not less extraordinary for the nature of the subject, than for the admirable art with which the whole is conducted. The work is founded upon the traditions and theogony of the ancients, which consisted of various detached fables. Those Ovid has not only so happily arranged, that they form a coherent series of narratives, one rising out of another, but he describes the different changes with such an imposing plausibility, as to give a natural appearance to the most incredible fictions. This ingenious production, however perfect it may appear, we are told by himself, had not received his last corrections when he was ordered into banishment.

In the *Ibis*, the author imitates a poem of the same name, written by Callimachus It is an invective against some person who publicly traduced his character at Rome, after his banishment. A strong sensibility, indignation, and implacable resentment, are conspicuous through the whole

The *Tristia* were composed in his exile, in which, though his vivacity forsook him, he still retained a genius prolific in versification. In these poems, as well as in many epistles to different persons, he bewails his unhappy situation, and deprecates in the strongest terms the inexorable displeasure of Augustus.

Several other productions written by Ovid are now lost, and

amongst them a tragedy called Medea, of which Quintilian expresses a high opinion. Ocidis Medea videtur miks ostendere quantum vir ille prestare polucrit as ingenso suo femperare quam indifere maluseret 1 Idn. x. o. 1.

It is a peculiarity in the productions of this author that, on whaterer he employs his pace he exhausts the rublet; not with any prolixity that fatigues the attention, but by a quick succession of new ideas, equally brilliant and apposite, often expressed in antitheses. Void of observity in expression, but laseivious in sentiment, he may be said rather to stimulate immorally the natural passions then to corrupthe imagination. No poet is more guided in varsification by the nature of his subject than Ovid. In common narrative, his dicas are expressed with almost colloquial simpherty; but when his fancy glows with sentiment, or as animated by objects of grandery his style is proportionally ele-

vated, and he rises to a putch of sublimity

No point in ancient history has cratted more variety of conjectures than the bankbinnet of Orid; but after all the efforts of different writers to cluedate the subject, the cause of the extraordinary transaction remains involved in obscurity. It may therefore not be improper in this place, to examine the foundation of the several conjectures which have been formed, and if they appear to be utterly maximisable to attempt a rolution of the question upon principles more conformable to probability and countenanced by historical evidence.

The estensible reason suspeed by Augustus for bansling Orid, was his corrupting the Roman youth by laseritous publications; but it is crideal, from various passages in the poet a productions after this period, that there was, bendes, some serror reason, which would not admit to being drudged. He says in

his Trictia, Lib is 1-

## Perdiderent cum use deo crimina, carmen et error.

It appears from another passage in the same work, that this inviolable arcrass was something which Orld had seen, and, as he insinuates, through his own ignorance and mistake.

Cur aliquid vidi ? cur conscia izznina feci ?
Cur improdenti cognita culpa mibi cut ?— 1944.

- 3 "The Medea of Orid proves, in my opinion, how sampairing would have been his success, if he had allowed his genues free acope, instead of setting boards to it.
  - 4 Two faults have ruined me; my verse, and my mistake.

Inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina, plector Peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum <sup>1</sup> De Trist in 5.

It seems, therefore, to be a fact sufficiently established, that Ovid had seen something of a very indecent nature, in which Augustus was concerned What this was, is the question. Some authors, conceiving it to have been of a kind extremely atrocious, have gone so far as to suppose, that it must have been an act of criminality between Augustus and his own daughter Julia, who, notwithstanding the strict attention paid to her education by her father, became a woman of the most infamous character, suspected of incontinence during her marriage with Agrippa, and openly profligate after her union with her next husband, Tiberius This supposition, however, rests entirely upon conjecture, and is not only discredited by its own improbability, but by a yet more forcible argument. It is certain that Julia was at this time in banishment for her scandalous life. She was about the same age with Tiberius, who was now fortyseven, and they had not cohabited for many years not exactly the year in which Augustus sent her into exile, but we may conclude with confidence, that it happened soon after her separation from Tiberius, whose own interest with the emperor, as well as that of his mother Livia, could not fail of being exerted, if any such application was necessary, towards removing from the capital a woman who, by the notoriety of her prostitution, reflected disgrace upon all with whom she was connected, either by blood or alliance But no application from Tiberius or his mother could be necessary, when we are assured that Augustus even presented to the senate a narrative respecting the infamous behaviour of his daughter, which was read by the quæstor was so much ashamed of her profligacy, that he for a long time declined all company, and had thoughts of putting her to death She was banished to an island on the coast of Campania for five years, at the expiration of which period, she was removed to the continent, and the severity of her treatment a little mitigated, but though frequent applications were made in her behalf by the people, Augustus never could be prevailed upon to permit her return

I These lines are thus rendered in the quaint version of Zachary Catha.

I suffer 'cause I chanced a fault to spy,
So that my crime doth in my eyesight he
Alas! why wait my luckless hap to see

A fault at unawares to ruin me?

Other writers have conjectured, that, instead of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, the person seen with him by Ovid may have been Julia his grand-daughter who inherited the vicious disposition of her mother and was on that account likewise ha nished by Augustus. The epoch of this lady a banishment it is impossible to sacertain; and therefore no argument can be drawn from that source to invalidate the present conjecture. But Augustus had shown the same scheetude for her being tramed up in virtuous habits, as he had done in respect of her mother, though in both cases unsuccessfully; and this considers tion, foined to the enormty of the supposed crime and the great sensibility which Augustus had discovered with regard to the in famy of his daughter seems sufficient to exonerate his memory from so odious a charge. Besides is it possible that he could have sent her into banishment for the infamy of her prostitution, while (upon the supposition of incest) she was mistress of so im portant a secret, as that he himself had been more eriminal with her than any other man in the empire?

Some writers, gring a wider scope to conjecture have supposed the transaction to be of a nature still more deterable, and have even dragged Meccens at the minuter into a participation of the crime. Fortunately however for the reputation of the illustrious pairwo of politolearung as well as for that of the emperor, this grude conjecture may be refuted upon the endence of chronology. The commoncement of Ornds stills happened in the inith year of the Christian are, and the death of Meccenas, eight years before that period. Between this and other calculations, we find a difference of three or four years; but allowing the others to the bankingent of Orid a period of cloven years; an observation which fully invalidates the conjecture above-mentioned.

Having now refuted, as it is presumed, the opinions of the different commentators on the subject, we shall proceed to offer a new conjecture, which seems to have a greater claim to probability than any that has hitherto been suggested.

Suctionius informs us, that Augustus, in the latter part of his hife, contracted a victous inclination for the enjoyment of young virgus, who were procured for hum from all parts not only with the connivance, but by the clandertine management of his consort latin. It was therefore probably with one of those victims that he was discovered by Orid. Augustus had for many years affected a decency of behaviour, and he would, therefore, naturally be not a lattle disconserted at the unseasonable intrusion of the poet. That Orid know not of Augustus a being in the place is beyond all doubt; and Augustus seenacounces

of this circumstance, together with the character of Ovid, would suggest an unfavourable suspicion of the motive which had brought the latter thither. Abstracted from the immorality of the emperor's own conduct, the incident might be regarded as ludicrous, and certainly was more fit to excite the shame than the indignation of Augustus. But the purpose of Ovid's visit appears, from his own acknowledgment, to have been not entirely ties from blame, though of what nature we know not

Non equidem totam possum defendere culpam Sed partein nostri criminis error habet

De Trist Lib in Eleg 5

I know I cannot wholly be defended, Yet plead 'twas chance, no ill was then intended — Cathn

Ovid was at this time turned of fifty, and though by a much younger man he would not have been regarded as any object of jealousy in love, yet by Augustus, now in his sixty-ninth year, he might be deemed a formidable rival. This passion, therefore, concurring with that which arose from the interruption or disappointment of gratification, inflamed the emperor's resentment, and he resolved on banishing to a distant country a man whom he considered as his rival, and whose presence, from what had happened, he never more could endure

Augustus having determined on the banishment of Ovid, could find little difficulty in accommodating the ostensible to the

secret and real cause of this resolution.

No argument to establish the date of publication, can be drawn from the order in which the various productions of Ovid are placed in the collection of his works but reasoning from probability, we should suppose that the *Ars Amandi* was written during the period of his youth, and this seems to be confirmed by the following passage in the second book of the *Fasti* 

Certe ego vos habui faciles in amore ministros, Cum lusit numeris prima juventa suis <sup>2</sup>

That many years must have elapsed since its original publication is evident from the subsequent lines in the second book of the Tristia

Nos quoque jam pridem scripto pecavimus uno Supplicium patitur non nova culpa novum Carminaque edideram, cum te delicta notantem Prætern toties jure quietus eques.

2 "I myself employed you as ready agents in love, when my early youth sported i numbers adapted to it "—Riley's Ovid

## Ergo, que juveni mihi son nocitara patavi Scripta parura prudesa, sune nocuere seul P

With what show then of justice, it may be a ked, could Augustus now punish a fault, which in his solemn capacity of censor he had so long and repeatedly overlooked? The answer is obvious: in a production so popular as we may be assured the Are Amande was amongst the Roman youth, it must have pessed through several editions in the course of some years; and one of those coinciding with the fatal discovery afforded the emperor a specious pretext for the execution of his purpose. The severity exercised on this occasion however when the poet was suddenly driven into exile unaccompanied even by the partner of his bed, who had been his companion for many years, was an act so in consistent with the usual moderation of Augustus that we cannot justly ascribe it to any other motive than personal resentment; especially as this arbitrary punishment of the author could answer no end of public utility while the obnoxious production remained to affect, if it really ever did essentially affect, the morals of society If the sensibility of Augustus could not thenceforth admit of any personal intercourse with Ovid, or even of his living within the limits of Italy there would have been little danger from the example, in sending into honourable oxile with every indularence which could alleviate so dustressful a necessity a man of respectable rank in the state, who was sharged with no actual offence against the laws, and whose genius, with all its indiscretion, did immortal bonour to his country. It may perhaps be tirged, that, considering the predicament in which Augustus stood, he discovered a forbearance greater than mucht have been expected from an absolute prince, in sparing the life of Ovid. It will readily be granted, that Ovid, in the same circumstances, under any one of the four subsequent emperors, would have explated the modent with his blood. Augustus, upon a late occanon, had shown himself equally sanguinary for he put to death, by the hand of Varus, a poet of Parma, named Cassius, on account of his having written some saturcal verses against him. By that recent example, therefore, and the power of pardoning which the emperor still retained, there was sufficient hold of the poets secresy respecting the fatal transaction which, if divulged

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;I long thee arred by one composition; a fault that is not recent endures a ponishment indicted thus lats. I had already published my poens, when, according to my privilege, I peased in review so many those manufacted as one of the expostria order before you the exquirer into enumbed charge. Is it then possible that the writings which, in my wast of confidence, I supposed would not have injured me when young have sow been my rule in my old age? I"—Rilly" O'M.

to the world, Augustus would reprobate as a false and infamous libel, and punish the author accordingly. Ovid, on his part, was sensible, that, should he dare to violate the important but tacit injunction, the imperial vergeance would reach him even on the shores of the Euxine. It appears, however, from a passage in the *Ibis*, which can apply to no other than Augustus, that Ovid was not sent into banishment destitute of pecuniary provision.

Di melius <sup>1</sup> quorum longe mili maximus ille, Qui nostras inopes noluit esse vias Huie igitur meritas grates, ubicumque liceliit, Pro tam mansueto pectore semper agani <sup>1</sup>

The gods defend ' of whom he's far the chief, Who lets me not, though banished, want relief For this his favour therefore whilst I live, Where'er I am, deserved thanks I'll give

What sum the emperor bestowed, for the support of a banishment which he was resolved should be perpetual, it is impossible to ascertain, but he had formerly been liberal to Ovid, as well

as to other poets

If we might hazard a conjecture respecting the scene of the intrigue which occasioned the banishment of Ovid, we should place it in some recess in the emperor's gardens. His house, though called *Palatium*, the palace, as being built on the Palatine hill, and inhabited by the sovereign, was only a small mansion, which had formerly belonged to Hortensius, the oiator Adjoining to this place Augustus had built the temple of Apollo, which he endowed with a public library, and allotted for the use of poets, to recite their compositions to each other. Ovid was particularly intimate with Hyginus, one of Augustus's freedmen, who was librarian of the temple. He might therefore have been in the library, and spying from the window a young female secreting herself in the gardens, he had the curiosity to follow her

The place of Ovid's banishment was Tomi, now said to be Baba, a town of Bulgaria, towards the mouth of the Ister, where is a lake still called by the natives Ouvidouve Jesero, the lake of Ovid In this retirement, and the Euxine Pontus, he passed the remainder of his life, a melancholy period of seven years Notwithstanding the lascivious writings of Ovid, it does not appear that he was in his conduct a libertine. He was three times mairied his first wife, who was of mean extraction, and

This place, now called Temisvar, or Tomisvar, stands on one of the mouths of the Danube, about sixty five miles E N E from Silistria

The neighbouring bay of the Black Sea is still called the Gulf of Baba

whom he had married when he was very young he divorced; the second he dismissed on account of her immodesh behaviour; and the third appears to have surraved him. He had a momber of respectable friends and seems to have been much beloved by

them.-

Travelus was descended of an equestran family and is said. but erroneously as will afterwards appear to have been born on the same day with Orid His anuable accomplishments procured him the friendship of Messala Corrinus whom he accompanied in a military expedition to the island of Coreyra. But an indisposition with which he was reized and a natural aversion to the toils of war induced him to return to Rome where he seems to have resigned himself to a life of indolence and pleasure amulat which he devoted a part of his time to the composition of elegies Elegian poetry had been cultivated by several Greek writers particularly Callimachus, Mimpermus and Philetas; but so far as we can flud, had, until the present age been unknown to the Romana in their own tongue. It consisted of a heroic and pen tameter line alternately and was not. like the clegy of the moderns, usually appropriated to the lamentation of the deceased, but employed chiefly in compositions relative to love or friend ship, and might, indeed, be used upon almost any subject; though, from the limp in the pentameter line, it is not suitable to sublime subjects, which require a fulness of expression and an expansion of sound. To this species of poetry Tibullus restricted his application, by which be cultivated that simplicity and ten derness, and agreeable case of centiment, which constitute the characteristic perfections of the elegiac muso

In the description of rural scenes, the peaceful occupations of the field the charms of domestic happiners, and the joys of reciprocal love, scarcely any poet surpasses Tibulius. His huxuriant imagination collects the most beautiful flowers of nature, and he displays them with all the deleasts attraction of soft and harmonious numbers. With a decirently peculiar to himself in whatever rudget the engages, he leads his resultra imperceptibily through devious paths of pleasure of which at the outset of the poem, they could form no conception. He seems to have often written without any provious medits tom or design. Several of his cleptes may be said to have neither middle nor end; yet the transitions are so natural, and the gradations so casy that though we wander through Elysian scenes of funcy the most heterogeneous in their nature, we are sensible of no defect in the consetunation which has joined them together. It is, however, to be regretted that, in some bestacces, Tibulians between the second of the consequence of the second of the consequence of maners which the source of the second of the consequence of the second of the secon

formed too general a characteristic even of this refined age His eiegies addressed to Messala contain a beautiful amplification of sentiments founded in friendship and esteem, in which it is difficult to say, whether the virtues of the patron or the genius of the

poet be more conspicuous

Valerius Messala Corvinus, whom he celebrates, was descended of a very ancient family. In the civil wars which followed the death of Julius Cosar he joined the republican party, and made himself master of the camp of Octavius at Philippi, but he was afterwards reconciled to his opponent, and lived to an advanced age in favour and esteem with Augustus. He was distinguished not only by his military talents, but by his eloquence, integrity, and patriotism

From the following passage in the writings of Tibullus, commentators have conjectured that he was deprived of his lands by the same proscription in which those of Virgil had been

involved

Cui fueraut flavi ditantes ordine sulci Horrea, faccindas ad deficientia messes, Cuique pecus denso pascebant agmine colles, Et domino satis, et nimium furique lupoque Nunc desiderium superest nam cura novatur, Cum memor anteactos semper dolor admovet annos

Lib iv El 1

But this seems not very probable, when we consider that Horace, several years after that period, represents him as opulent

Dî tibi divitias dederant, artemque fruendi

Epist Lib 1 4

To thee the gods a fair estate
In bounty gave, with heart to know
How to enjoy what they bestow —Francis

We know not the age of Tibullus at the time of his death, but in an elegy written by Ovid upon that occasion, he is spoken of as a young man. Were it true, as is said by biographers, that he was born the same day with Ovid, we must indeed assign the event to an early period for Ovid cannot have written the elegy after the forty-third year of his own life, and how long before is uncertain. In the tenth elegy of the fourth book, De Tristibus, he observes, that the fates had allowed little time for the cultivation of his friendship with Tibullus.

Virgilium vidi tantum nec avara Tibullo
Tempus amicitie fata dedere meæ
Successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi:
Quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui
Utque ego majores, sic me coluere minores.

ligil i only naw a d envious fate.

Did noon my friend Thoulins hence translate.

He followed Gallur and I reperties him.

And I parself was fourth in course of line.—Cetha.

As both Ovel and Tibulius lived at Rome were both of the equestran order, and of congenal dapositions, it is natural to suppose that their acquaintance commenced at an early period; and if, after all, it was of short duration there would be no improbability in concluding, that Tibulius died at the age of some years under thirty. It is erident, however that biographers have committed a mistake with regard to the birth of thus poet; for in the passage above cited of the Tristus Ovid mentions. Tibulius as a writer who, though his contemporary was much older than himself. From they passage we should be justified in placing the death of Tibulius between the fortieth and fillieth year of his age and rather nearer to the latter period; for otherwise, Hornee would scarcely have mentioned him in tau manner he does in one of his criticles.

Albi, notiforum termonum candide juder.

Ordel unce le dieum facter in regione Pedani f
Scribero quod Casst Parmensis operenia viacai.
An isotium illens inter repture asinbrer.
Curnutum quicquid diguam aspiente benoopus est ?—Fpitt l. i

Abbies, in whom my sathres find A critic, candid, just, and kind, Do you, while at your country test, Sone thyraling labours meditate, That shall is rotomed bulk arise, And e as from Camius hear the prins; Or seaster through the silest wood.—Francia, Ilinding on what bedits the yood.—Francia,

This supportion is in no degree inconsistent with the authority of Ovid where he mentions him as a young man; for the Romans extended the period of youth to the liftieth year—

Properties was born at Morania, a torn of Umbria, scated at

the confluence of the Tins and Clitumnus. This place was famous for its berds of white cettle brought up there for sacrifice, and supposed to be impregnated with that colour by the waters of the river last mentioned.

> Hibo albi, Ciltanno, grayes, et maxima tarres Victima, more two perside framine acros, Romanos ad templa Delim dazere triumphos. — Gray ii. And where thy ancred streams, Ciltannan i Sow White berds, and statisfiest bulls that of hare led

White berds, and stateliest buils that oft have bed Triumphant Rome, and on her alters bled - Sockety His father is said by some to have been a Roman knight, and they add, that he was one of those who, when L Antony was starved out of Perusia, were, by the order of Octavius, led to the ultar of Julius Cæsar, and there slain. Nothing more is known with certainty, than that Propertius lost his father at an early age, and being deprived of a great part of his patrimony, betook himself to Rome, where his genius soon recommended him to public notice, and he obtained the patronage of Meemas From his frequent introduction of historical and mythological subjects into his poems, he received the appellation of "the learned"

Of all the Latin elegine poets, Propertius has the justest claim to purity of thought and expression. He often draws his imagery from reading, more than from the imagination, and abounds less in description than sentiment. For warmth of passion he is not conspicuous, and his tenderness is seldom marked with a great degree of sensibility, but, without rapture, he is animated, and, like Horace, in the midst of gaiety, he is moral. The stores with which learning supplies him diversify as well as illustrate his subject, while delicacy every where discovers a taste refined by the habit of reflection. His versification, in general, is elegant, but not uniformly harmonious

Tibulius and Propertius have each written four books of Elegies, and it has been disputed which of them is superior in this department of poetry Quintilian has given his suffrage in favour of Tibulius, who, so far as poetical merit alone is the object

of consideration, seems entitled to the preference ---

Gallus was a Roman knight, distinguished not only for poetical, but military talents. Of his poctry we have only six elegies, written, in the person of an old man, on the subject of old age, but which, there is reason to think, were composed at an earlier part of the author's life. Except the fifth elegy, which is tainted with immodesty, the others, particularly the first, are highly beautiful, and may be placed in competition with any other productions of the elegiae kind. Gallus was, for some time, in great favour with Augustus, who appointed him governor of Egypt. It is said, however, that he not only oppressed the province by extortion, but entered into a conspiracy against his benefactor, for which he was banished. Unable to sustain such a reverse of fortune, he fell into despair, and laid violent hands on himself. This is the Gallus in honour of whom Virgil composed his tenth ecloque.

Such are the celebrated productions of the Augustan age, which have been happily preserved, for the delight and admiration of mankind, and will survive to the latest posterity Many

more once existed of various ment, and of different authors, which have left few or no memorials behind them, but have perhabel promisecously amidst the industruminate ravages of time of accidents and of barbarians. Amongst the principal authors whose works are lost, are Varius and Valgius; the former of whom bendes a panegyrie upon Augustus, composed some tragedies. According to Quintilian his Thyestes was equal to any composition of the Greek tragic poets.

The great number of eminent wnters poets in particular who adoned this age has excited general admiration and the phenomenon is usually ascribed to a fortuitous occurrence which baf fies all inquiry: but we shall endeavour to develope the various causes which seem to have produced this effect; and should the explanation appear satisfactory it may favour an opinion, that under smillar circumstances if ever they should again be combined, a period of equal glory might arise in other ages and nations.

The Romans, whether from the laftnence of climate or their mode of living which in general was temperate were endowed with a lively imagination and, as we before observed, a spirit of enterprise. Upon the final termination of the Punic war and the conquest of Greece their ardour which had lutherte been exercised in military achievements, was diverted into the chan nel of literature; and the civil commotions which followed. having now ceased, a freeli impulse was given to activity in the ambitious pursuit of the laurel which was now only to be obtained by glorious exertions of intellect. The beautiful productions of Greece operating strongly upon their minds, excited them to mitation; imitation, when roused amongst a number produced emulation; and emulation cherished an extraordinary thirst of fame, which in every exertion of the human mind is the parent of excellence. This liberal contention was not a little promoted by the fashion introduced at Rome for poets to recito their compositions in public; a practice which seems to have been carried even to a ridiculous excess.—Such was now the rage for poetical composition in the Roman capital, that Horace describes it in the following terms :

> Mutavit mentem populus levis, et calet uno Scribendi studio: pueri patresque severi Fronde comas vincti comant, et carmina dictant.—Epiet fl. l.

Now the light people bend to other aims A last of scribbling every breast inflames; Our yeath, our senstors, with bays are crowned, And rhymes sternal as our feasts go round. Scribimus indocti doctique poëmata passim —Hor Epist 11 1

But every desperate blockhead dares to write,

Verse is the trade of every living wight,—Francis

The thirst of fame above mentioned, was a powerful incentive, and is avowed both by Virgil and Horace. The former, in the third book of his *Georgics*, announces a resolution of rendering himself celebrated, if possible

———— tentanda via est quâ me quoque possim Tollere humo, victorque virûm volitare per ora.

I, too, will strive o'er earth my flight to raise, And wing'd by victory, catch the gale of praise —Sotheby

And Horace, in the conclusion of his first Ode, expresses himself in terms which indicate a similar purpose

Quod si me lyricis vatibis inseres, Sublimi feriam sidera vertice

But if you rank me with the choir, Who tuned with art the Grecian lyre, Swift to the noblest heights of fame, Shall rise thy poet's deathless name—Francis

Even Sallust, a historian, in his introduction to Catiline's Conspiracy, scruples not to insinuate the same kind of ambition Quo militi rectius videtur ingenii quam virium opibus gloriam quarere, et quoniam vita ipsa, qua fruimur, bi evis est, memoriam

nostri quam maxume longam efficere 1

Another circumstance of great importance, towards the production of such poetry as might live through every age, was the extreme attention which the great poets of this period displayed, both in the composition, and the polishing of their works gil, when employed upon the Georgics, usually wrote in the morning, and applied much of the subsequent part of the day to correction and improvement He compared himself to a bear, that licks her cub into form If this was his regular practice in the Georgics, we may justly suppose that it was the same in the Æneid Yet, after all this labour, he intended to devote three years entirely to its farther amendment Horace has gone so far in recommending careful correction, that he figuratively mentions nine years as an adequate period for that purpose whatever may be the time, there is no precept which he urges either oftener or more forcibly, than a due attention to this important subject

"It appears to me, therefore, more reasonable to pursue glory by means of the intellect, than of bodily strength, and, since the life we enjoy is short to make the remembrance of it as lasting as possible."

Bupe stylum vertas, iterum que digna legi sint

Beripturus.

Would you a reader's just esteem engage?

Correct with frequent carn the blotted page. Francis.

Pompilies sanguis, earmen reprehendite quod non

Multa dies at multa litura coercuit, atqua Perfectum decles non castigarit ad unguem

De Art I sel

Som of Pompilles, with contempt receive hor let the hardy poem hope to live, Where time and fall correction don't refine The finished work, and pollah every line,—Prencis

To the sereral causes above enumerated, as concurring to firm the great supernority of the Augustan age as respects the productions of literature one more is to be subjoined, of a nature the most essential; the liberal and unpersilled encouragement given to distinguished talents by the emperor and his mustire. This was a principle of the most powerful energy; it fanned the flame of genus, inrigorated every exertion; and the poets who basked in the rays of imperial favour and the animating patron age of Meccanas, experienced a poetle enthusiasm which approached to real inspiration.

Having now finished the proposed explanation, relative to the celebrity of the Augustan age we shall conclude with recapitulating in a few words the essues of this entraordinary occurrence.

The models, then, which the Romans derived from Greeien poetry were the finest productions of human genius; their incentives to emulation were the strongest that could actuate the heart. With ardour therefore, and industry in composing and with unwasted patience in polluling their compositions, they attained to that glorous distinction in literature which no succeeding age has over realled.

## TIBERIUS NERO CÆSAR.

I THE patrician family of the Claudii (for there was a pleberan family of the same name, no way inferior to the other either in power or dignity) came originally from Regilli, a town of the Sabines They removed thence to Rome soon after the building of the city, with a great body of their dependants, under Titus Tatius, who reigned jointly with Romulus in the kingdom, or, perhaps, what is related upon better authority, under Atta Claudius, the head of the family, who was admitted by the senate into the patrician order six years after the expulsion of the Tarquins They likewise received from the state, lands beyond the Amo for their followers, and a burying-place for themselves near the capitol 1 After this period, in process of time, the family had the honour of twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, seven triumphs, and two ovations descendants were distinguished by various prænomina and cognomina, but rejected by common consent the prænomen of

1 Intramural interments were prohibited at Rome by the laws of the Twelve Tables, notwithstanding the practice of reducing to ashes the bodies of the dead. It was only by special privilege that individuals who had deserved well of the state, and certain distinguished families were permitted to have tombs within the city.

<sup>2</sup> Among the Romans, all the descendants from one common stock were called *Gentiles*, being of the same race or kindred, however remote. The *Gens*, as they termed this general relation or clanship, was subdivided into families, in *Familias vel Stirpes*, and those of the same family were called *Agnati*. Relations by the father's side were also called *Agnati*, to distinguish them from *Cognati*, relations only by the mother's side. An *Agnatus* might also be called *Cognatus*, but not the contrary

To mark the different gentes and familie, and to distinguish the individuals of the same family, the Romans had commonly three names, the Prenomen, Nomen, and Cognomen The prenomen was put first, and marked the individual It was usually written with one letter, as A. for Aulus, C Caius, D Decimus sometimes with two letters, as Ap for Appius, Cn Cneius, and sometimes with three, as Mam for Mamercus The Nomen was put after the Prenomen, and marked the gens. It

Lucius, when, of the two races who bore it, one individual had been convicted of robbery and another of murder Amongst other cognomina, they assumed that of Nero, which in the Sabine language signifies strong and ralliant.

II It appears from record, that many of the Claudii have performed signal services to the state as well as committed acts of delinquency To mention the most remarkable only Appins Creeus dissuaded the senate from agreeing to an alliance with Pyrrhus, as prejudicial to the republic.1 Claudius Candex first passed the struts of Sicily with a flect, and drove the Cartingunians out of the island. Claudius Aero cut off Asdrubel with a vast army upon his arrival in Italy from Spain before he could form a junction with his brother Annibal. On the other hand, Claudius Applus Regulanus, one of the Decemvirs, made a violent attempt to have a free virgin of whom he was enamoured, adjudged a slave which caused the people to second a second time from the senate Claudius Drusus creeted a statue of himself wearing a crown at Appu Forum, and endeavoured by means of his dependents. to make himself master of Italy Clandius Pulcher when off the coast of Sicily the pullets used for taking angury would not eat, in contempt of the omen threw them overboard, as if they should drink at least, if they would not eat and then engaging the enemy was routed. After his defeat, when he

Some grates appear to have had no surname, as the Marian; and general families seem sometimes to be put one for the other; as the F his pear or Fable families.

Sometimes there was a fourth same, properly called the Agracours, but sometimes likewise Copyaneous, which was added on account of some II leatitions action or remarkable error. This Stelph was massed Publiss Cornellas Stelph Africanas from the coopenies of Cartage. In the same manner his brother was called Lucius Cornellas Stelph Aristicus, Thus also, Qulaties Jalien Hattings received the Agracous of Conscience, from his checking the victorious senses of Hannibal by svoiding a battle.

4 A.V.C. \$03

commonly ended in let; as Julius, Tullius, Cornelius. The Corneness was put last, and marked the femilie; as Givers, Gener. &c.

A.U.C. 474 1 A.U.C. 490 2 A.U.C. 547 4 A.U.C. 304.
A.U.C. 474 1 A.U.C. 304.
Mentioned by St. Psul, Acts xxxiii. 13 and Horses, Set. 1. 5 2, in giving an account of their traysis.

was ordered by the senate to name a dictator, making a sort of jest of the public disaster, he named Glycias, his apparitor

The women of this family, likewise, exhibited characters equally opposed to each other For both the Claudias belonged to it, she, who, when the ship freighted with things sacred to the Idean Mother of the Gods, stuck fast in the shallows of the Tiber, got it off, by praying to the Goddess with a loud voice, "Follow me, if I am chaste," and she also, who, contrary to the usual practice in the case of women, was brought to trial by the people for treason, because, when her litter was stopped by a great crowd in the streets, she openly exclaimed, "I wish my brother Pulcher was alive now, to lose another fleet, that Rome might be less thronged" sides, it is well known, that all the Claudii, except Publius Claudius, who, to effect the banishment of Cicero, procured himself to be adopted by a pleberan,2 and one younger than himself, were always of the patrician party, as well as great sticklers for the honour and power of that order, and so violent and obstinate in their opposition to the plebeians, that not one of them, even in the case of a trial for life by the people, would ever condescend to put on mourning, according to custom, or make any supplication to them for favour, and some of them in their contests, have even proceeded to lay hands on the tri-bunes of the people A Vestal Virgin likewise of the family, when her brother was resolved to have the honour of a triumph contrary to the will of the people, mounted the chariot with him, and attended him into the capitol, that it might not be lawful for any of the tribunes to interfere and forbid it 3

III From this family Tiberius Cæsar is descended, indeed both by the father and mother's side, by the former from Tiberius Nero, and by the latter from Appius Pulcher, who were both sons of Appius Cæcus He likewise belonged to the family of the Livii, by the adoption of his mother's grandfather into it, which family, although plebeian, made a

Cybele, first worshipped in Phrygia, about Mount Ida, from whence a sacred stole, the symbol of her divinity, probably an aerolite, was transported to Rome, in consequence of the panic occasioned by Hann bal's invasion, A U C 508

<sup>8</sup> AUC 695

distinguished figure, having had the honour of eight commiships, two cemsorships, three triumphs, one dictatorship, and the office of master of the horse and was famous for eminent men, particularly Salinator and the Drust. Salinator in his consorahip, branded all the tribes, for their inconstancy in having made him consul a second time, as well as consur al though they had condemned him to a beavy fine after his first consulabile. Drusus procured for himself and his posterity a new surname, by killing in single combat Drausus, the onemy's chief. He is likewise said to have recovered, when pro-prector in the province of Gaul, the gold which was for marly given to the Benones, at the siege of the capital, and had not, as is reported, been forced from them by Camillus, His great-great-grandson, who, for his extraordinary services against the Gracehl, was styled the Patron of the Scnate left a son, who, while plotting in a sedition of the same description, was trencherously murdered by the opposite party

IV But the father of Tiberius Clesar being quarter to Onlys Corear and commander of his fleet in the war of Alex andria contributed greatly to its success. He was therefore made one of the high priests in the room of Publing Scinio and was sent to sottle some colonies in Gaul and amongst the rest, those of Narbonne and Arles. After the assauination of Caser however when the rest of the senators, for fear of public disturbances, were for having the affair buried in oblivion, he proposed a resolution for rewarding those who had killed the tyrant. Having filled the office of protor and at the end of the year a disturbance breaking out amongst the triumviri, he kept the badges of his office beyond the legal time; and following Lucius Antonius the consul, brother of the triumvir to Perusia, though the rest submitted yet he himself continued firm to the party and except first to Premeste, and then to Naples; whence, having in vain invited the slaves to liberty, he fied over to Slelly But resenting

4 . U a. 710.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A.U.C. 550. <sup>2</sup> A.U.C. 707 <sup>4</sup> These, and other towns in the south of France between and long

<sup>4</sup> There, and other towns in the south of France became, and long continued the chief seats of Roman civilization among the Garls which is marked by the magnificent remains of sucient art still to be seen. Arise, is particular is a place of great interest.

his not being immediately admitted into the presence of Sextus Pompey, and being also prohibited the use of the fasces, he went over into Aehaia to Mark Antony, with whom, upon a reconciliation soon after brought about amongst the several centending parties, he retuined to Rome, and, at the request of Augustus, gave up to him his wife Livia Drusilla, although she was then big with child, and had before borne him a son Ho died not long after, leaving behind him two sons, Tiberius and Drusus Nero

V Some have imagined that Tiberius was born at Fundi, but there is only this trifling foundation for the conjecture, that his mother's grandmother was of Fundi, and that the image of Good Fortune was, by a decree of the senate, erected in a public place in that town. But according to the greatest number of writers, and those too of the best authority, he was born at Rome, in the Palatine quarter, upon the sixteenth of the calends of December [16th Nov], when Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was second time consul, with Lucius Munatius Planeus, after the battle of Philippi, for so it is registered in the calendar, and the public acts. According to some, however, he was born the preceding year, in the consulship of Hirtius and Pansa, and others say, in the year following, during the consulship of Scrvilius Isaurieus and Antony

VI His infancy and childhood were spent in the midst of danger and trouble, for he accompanied his parents everywhere in thoir flight, and twice at Naples nearly betrayed them by his crying, when they were privately hastening to a ship, as the enemy rushed into the town, once, when he was snatched from his nurso s breast, and again, from his mother's bosom, by some of the company, who on the sudden emorgency wished to relieve the women of their burden. Being carried through Sicily and Achaia, and entrusted for some time to the care of the Lacedæmonians, who were under the protection of the Claudian family, upon his departure thence when travelling by night, he ran the hazard of his life, by a fire which, suddenly bursting out of a wood on all sides, surrounded the whole party so closely, that part of Livia's dress and han was burnt. The presents which were made hum

<sup>1</sup> A U C 712 Before Christ about 39

by Pompeia, sister to Sextus Pompey in Sicily namely a sloak, with a clasp, and bulks of gold are still in existence, and shewn et Baim to this day. After his return to the city being adopted by Marcus Gallius, a senator in his will, he took possersion of the cetate but soon afterwards declined the use of his name, because Gallius had been of the party opposed to Augustus. When only nine years of age, he pronounced a funeral cration in praise of his father upon the restre and afterwards, when he had nearly attained the age of manibod, he attended the chariot of Augustus, in his tri umph for the victory at Actium, nding on the left hand horse, whilst Marcellus, Octavia e son rode that on the right. He likewise presaded at the games celebrated on account of that victory and in the Trojan games intermixed with the Circensian, he commanded a troop of the higgest boys.

VII. After assuming the manly habit, he spent his youth and the rost of his life until he succeeded to the government, in the following manner: he gave the people an entertainment of gladiators, in memory of his father and another for his grandfather Drusus, at different times and in different places the first in the forum the second in the amphitheatre some gladuators who had been honourably discharged being in duced to engage again, by a reward of a hundred thousand sestercos. He likewise exhibited public sports, at which he was not present himself All these he performed with great magni flornce, at the expense of his mother and father in law Ho married Agrappina, the daughter of Marcus Agrappa, and grand daughter of Cecilius Attieus, a Roman knight, the same person to whom Cicero has addressed so many episites. After having by her his son Drusus, he was obliged to part with her 't though she retained his affection, and was again pregnant, to make way for marrying Augustus s daughter Julia. But this he did with extreme reductance for posities having the warment ettach ment to Agrippins, he was disgusted with the conduct of Julia, who had made indecent advances to him during the lifetime of her former husband; and that she was a woman of loose character was the general opinion. At divorcing Agrip-pina he felt the deepest regret and upon meeting her after

<sup>1</sup> a.v.s. 71L

the Dalmetians In the German war he transplanted into Gaul forty thousand of the enemy who had submitted, and assigned them lands near the banks of the Rhine. For these actions, he entered the city with an ovation, but riding in a chariot, and is said by some to have been the first that over was homoured with this distinction. He filled early the puncipal offices of state; and passed through the quastership' protorship, and consulate's almost successarely. After some interval, he was chosen consult a second time, and held the tribunitian authority during five years.

X. Surrounded by all this prosperity in the prime of life and in excellent health he suddenly formed the resolution of withdrawing to a greater distance from Rome. It is uncer tain whether this was the result of discust for his wife whom he neither durst acouse nor divorce, and the connection with whom become every day more intolerable or to prevent that indifference towards him, which his constant residence in the city might produce or in the hope of supporting and im proving by absence his authority in the state if the public should have occasion for his service. Some are of opinion that as Augustus s sons were now grown up to years of maturity he voluntarily relinquished the possession he had long enjoyed of the second place in the government, as Agripped had done before him who, when M Marcellus was advanced to public offices, retired to Mitylene that he might not seem to stand in the way of his promotion, or in any respect lessen him by his presence. The same reason likewise Tiberius gave afterwards for his retirement but his pretext at this time was, that he was entiated with honours, and dourous of being relieved from the fatigue of business requesting therefore that he might have leave to withdraw And neither the cornect entreaties of his mother nor the complaint of his father in law made even in the senate, that he was descried by him, could provail upon him to alter his resolution. Upon their persisting in the design of detaining him, he refused to take any sustenance for four days together At last, having obtained permission, leaving his wife and son at Rome, he pro-

<sup>1</sup> A.U.C. 787 1 A.U.C. 741 2 A.U.C. 747 4 A.U.C. 748

ceeded to Ostia, without exchanging a word with those who attended him, and having embraced but very few persons at parting

XI From Ostin, journeying along the coast of Campania. he halted awhile on receiving intelligence of Augustus's being taken ill, but this giving rise to a rumour that lie stayed with a view to something extraordinary, he sailed with the wind almost full against him, and arrived at Rhodes, having been struck with the pleasantness and healthiness of the island, at the time of his landing there in his return from Armenia Here contenting himself with a small house, and a villa not much larger, near the town, he led entirely a private life, taking his walks sometimes about the Gymnasia,2 without any lictor or other attendant, and roturning the civilities of the Greeks with almost as much complaisance as if he had been upon a level with them One morning, in settling the course of his daily excursion, he happened to say, that he should visit all the sick people in the town. This being not rightly understood by those about him, the sick were brought into a public portico, and ranged in order, according to their several distempers Being extremely embarrassed by this unexpected occurrence, he was for some time irresolute how he should act, but at last he determined to go round them all, and make an apology for the mistake even to the meanest amongst them, and such as were entirely unknown to him One instance only is mentioned, in which he appeared to exercise his tribunitian authority Being a constant attendant upon the schools and lecture-rooms of the professors of the liberal arts, on occasion of a quarrel amongst the wrangling

<sup>2</sup> The Gymnasia were places of exercise, and received their name from the Greek word signifying naked, because the contending parties wore

rothing but drawers

Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, about thirteen miles from the city, was founded by Ancus Martius. Being the port of a city like Roine, it could not fail to become opulent, and it was a place of much resort, ornamented with fine edisces, and the environs "never failing of pasture in the summer time, and in the winter covered with roses and other flowers." The port having been filled up with the depositions of the Tiber, it became deserted, and is now abandoned to misery and malaria. The bishopric of Ostia being the oldest in the Roman church, its bishop has always retained some peculiar privileges.

sophists, in which he interposed to reconcile them, some per son took the liberty to abuse him as an intruder and partial in the affair Upon this, withdrawing privately home he suddenly returned attended by his officers and sum moning his accuser before his tribunal, by a public erier, ordered him to be taken to prison. Afterwards he received tidings that his wife Julia had been condemned for her lend ness and adultery and that a bill of divorce had been sent to her in his name, by the anthority of Augustus. Though he secretly rejoiced at this intelligence, he thought it incumbent upon him, in point of decener to interpose in her behalf by frequent letters to Augustus, and to allow her to retain the presents which he lied made ber netwithstanding the little regard she mented from him When the period of his tribu intian authority expired, declaring at last that he had no other object in his retirement than to avoid all suspicion of rivalship with Caus and Lucius, he petitioned that, since he was now secure in that respect, as they were come to the age of man hood, and would easily maintain themselves in possession of the second place in the state, he might be permitted to visit his friends, whom he was very desirous of sceing. But his request was denied and he was advised to lay ando all con cern for his friends, whom he had been so enger to greet.

XII He therefore continued at Rhodes much against his will, obtaining, with difficulty through his mother the title of Augustua's licutenant, to corer his diagrace. He thereforth lived however not only as a private person, but as one suspected and under apprehension, rothing into the intener of the country and arviding the visits of these who salied that way which were very frequent for no con pessed to take command of an army, or the government of a province, without touching at Rhodes. But there were fresh reasons for increased anxiety. For crossing over to Samos, on a valit to his step-pon Calus, who had been appointed governor of the East, he found him proposessed against him by the insinuations of Marcus Lellius, his companion and director. He likewise fell under suspecton of sending by some centurious who had been promoted by him salf, upon their return to the camp after a furlough mysterious messages to several persons there, intended, apparently to

continued fatigues you undergo, may the gods confound me if my whole frame does not tremble. So I beg you to spare yourself, lest, if we should hear of your being ill, the news prove fatal both to me and your mother, and the Roman people should be in peril for the safety of the empire. It matters nothing whether I be well or no, if you be not well. I pray heaven preserve you for us, and bless you with health both now and ever, if the gods have any regard for the Roman people."

XXII He did not make the death of Augustus public, until he had taken off young Agrippa. He was slain by a tribune who commanded his guard, upon reading a written order for that purpose respecting which order, it was then a doubt, whether Augustus left it in his last moments, to prevent any occasion of public disturbance after his decease, or Livia issued it, in the name of Augustus, and whether with the knowledge of Tiberius or not. When the tribune came to inform him that he had executed his command, he replied, "I commanded you no such thing, and you must answer for it to the senate," avoiding, as it seems, the odium of the act for that time. And the affair was soon buried in silence

XXIII Having summoned the senate to meet by virtue of his tribunitian authority, and begun a mournful speech, he drew a deep sigh, as if unable to support himself under his affliction, and wishing that not his voice only, but his very breath of life, might fail him, gave his speech to his son Diusus to read. Augustus's will was then brought in, and read by a freedman, none of the witnesses to it being admitted, but such as were of the senatorian order, the rest owning their hand-writing without doors. The will began thus "Since my ill-fortune has deprived me of my two sons, Caius and Lucius, let Tiberius Cæsar be heir to two-thirds of my estate." These words countenanced the suspicion of those who were of opinion, that Tiberius was appointed successor more out of necessity than choice, since Augustus could not refrain from prefacing his will in that manner.

XXIV Though he made no scruple to assume and exercise immediately the imperial authority, by giving orders that he

should be attended by the guards, who were the security and bedge of the supreme power yet he affected, by a most impudent piece of acting to refuse it for a long time one while sharply reprehending his friends who entreated him to accept it, as little knowing what a monster the government was another while keeping in surpresse the series, when they implored him and threw themselves at his feet, by ambiguous answors, and a crafty kind of dissimulation immunch that some were out of patience and one cred out during the confusion. Either let him accept it, or decline it at once and a account dold him to his face, Others are slow to perform what they promuse, but you are slow to promise what you actually perform. At last, as if forced to it, and complaining of the miserable and burdenscene service imposed upon him he accepted the government not, however without giving hopes of his resigning it some time or other. The exact words he used were these.

Until the time shall come, when ye may think it reasonable to give some rest to my old ago.

XXY The cause of his long demur was fear of the dangers which threatened him on all hands; insomuch that he said, I have got a well by the cars. For a slave of Agrappa, a Clement by name, had drawn togother a considerable force to revenge his master a death; Locus Scribonus Libe, a security of the first distinction, was secrelly fomenting a rebellion; and the troops both in Illyricum and Germany were mutinens. Both armies innisted upon high demands, particularly that their pay should be made equal to that of the pretorian guards. The army in Germany absolutely rofused to schoow ledge a prince who was not their own choice and urged, with all possible importunity Germanness, who commanded them, to take the government on himself, though he obstit nately refused it. It was Tiberius a apprehension from this quarter which made him request the senate to assign him some part only in the administration, such as they should judge proper since no man could be sufficient for the whole, without one or more to assist him. He pretended likewhe to be in a bad state of health, that Germanious might the more patiently wait in hoppe of speedily succeeding him or at least of being with in the proof of speedily succeeding him or at least of being wait in hoppe of speedily succeeding him or at least of being wait in hoppe of speedily succeeding him or at least of being h

1 Theries had adopted Germanicus, See baters, c. xv See also Galloutal c. i. admitted to be a colleague in the government. When the mutimes in the armies were suppressed, he got Clemens into his hands by stratagem. That he might not begin his reign by an act of severity, he did not call Labo to an account before the senate until his second year, being content, in the mean time, with taking proper piecautions for his own security. For upon Libo's attending a sacrifice amongst the high-piects, instead of the usual knife, he ordered one of lead to be given him, and when he desired a private conference with him, he would not grant his request, but on condition that his son Drusus should be present, and as they walked together, he held him fast by the right hand, under the pretence of leaning upon him, until the conversation was over

XXVI When he was delivered from his apprehensions, his beliaviour at first was unassuming, and he did not carry himself much above the level of a private person, and of the many and great honours offered him, he accepted but few, and such as were very moderate His birth-day, which happened to fall at the time of the Plebeian Circensian games, he with difficulty suffered to be honoured with the addition of only a single chariot, drawn by two horses He forbad temples, flamens, or priests to be appointed for him, as likewise the erection of any statues or effigies for him, without his permission, and this he granted only on condition that they should not be placed amongst the images of the gods, but only amongst the ornaments of houses He also interposed to prevent the senate from swearing to maintain his acts, and the month of September from being called Tiberius, and October being named after Livia The prænomen likewise of EMPEROR, with the cognomen of FATHFR OF HIS COUNTRY, and a civic crown in the vestibule of his house, he would not accept He never used the name of Augustus, although he inherited it, in any of his letters, excepting those addressed to kings and princes Nor had he more than three consulships, one for a few days, another for three months, and a third, during his absence from the city, until the ides infteenth of May

XXVII He had such an aversion to flattery, that he would never suffer any senator to approach his litter, as he passed the streets in it, either to pay him a civility, or upon business

And when a man of consular rank, in begging his pardon for some offence he had given him attempted to fall at his feet, he started from him in such haste, that he stumbled and fell. If any compliment was paid him, either in conversation or o set speech, he would not seruple to interrupt and represend the party and alter what he had said. Being once called 'lord,'' by some person, he desired that he might no more be affronted in that manner. When another to excite veneration, called his occupations seared, and a third had expressed himself thus: By your authority! have waited upon the senate, he obliged them to change their phrases in one of them adopting perseasons, instead of authority and in the other lesseness instead of secred.

XXVIII. He remained unmoved at all the supersons, secundatous reports, and lampoons, which were spread against him or his relations declaring. In a free state both the torque and the mind ought to be free." Upon the senate a dering that some notice might be taken of those offence, and the persons charged with them, he replied. We have not so much time upon our hands, that we ought to involve cursicien in more business. If you once make an opening for such proceedings, you will soon have nothing else to do. All private quarrels will be brought before you under that pretence." There is also on record another sentence used by him in the senate, which is far from assuming. If he speaks otherwise of me, I shall take care to behave in such a manner as to be able to give a good account both of my words and actions and if he persists, I shall hate him in my turn."

XXIX. These things were so much the more remarkable in him, because, in the respect he paid to individuals, or the whole body of the senate he went beyond all bounds. Upon his differing with Quintus Haterius in the senate-house Rardon me, sir he send, I beaced, you, if I shall, as a sanator speak my mind very freely in opposition to you. Afterwards addressing the senate in general he said: Conscript Fathers, I have often said it both now and at other times, that a good

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In this be initiated Augustus. See c. IIIL of his life. St hane fraudress speruswifts, if you open that window equivalent to our phrase, if you open the door

and useful prince, whom you have invested with so great and absolute power, ought to be a slave to the senate, to the whole body of the people, and often to individuals likewise nor am I sorry that I have said it I have always found you good, kind, and indulgent masters, and still find you so "

XXX He likewise introduced a certain show of liberty, by preserving to the senate and magistrates their former majesty and power. All affairs, whether of great or small importance, public or private, were laid before the senate. Taxes and monopolies, the erecting or repairing edifices, levying and disbanding soldiers, the disposal of the legions and auxiliary forces in the provinces, the appointment of generals for the management of extraordinary wars, and the answers to letters from foreign princes, were all submitted to the senate. He compelled the commander of a troop of horse, who was accused of robbery attended with violence, to plead his cause before the senate. He never entered the senate-house but unattended, and being once brought thither in a litter, because he was indisposed, he dismissed his attendants at the door

XXXI When some decrees were made contrary to his opinion, he did not even make any complaint And though he thought that no magistrates after their nomination should be allowed to absent themselves from the city, but reside in it constantly, to receive their honours in person, a prætor-elect obtained liberty to depart under the honorary title of a legate Again, when he proposed to the senate, that the Trebrans might have leave granted them to divert some money which had been left them by will for the purpose of building a new theatre, to that of making a road, he could not prevail to have the will of the testator set aside And when, upon a division of the house, he went over to the minority, nobody followed All other things of a public nature were likewise transacted by the magistrates, and in the usual forms, the authority of the consuls remaining so great, that some ambassadors from Africa applied to them, and complained, that they could not have their business dispatched by Cosar, to whom they had been sent And no wonder, since it was observed that he used to rise up as the consuls approached, and give them the way

XXXII. He reprimanded some persons of consular rank in command of armies, for not writing to the senate an account of their proceedings and for consulting him about the distribution of military rewards as if they themselves had not a right to bestow them as they judged proper. He com-mended a protor who, on entering office, revived an old custom of celebrating the memory of his ancestors, in a speech to the people. He ettended the corpses of some persons of distinction to the funeral pile. He displayed the came mo-deration with regard to persons and things of inferior conadoration. The magistrates of Rhodes, having dispatched to him a letter on public business, which was not subscribed he sent for them, and without giving thom so much as one harsh word, desired them to subscribe it, and so dismissed them. Diogenes, the grammarian, who used to hold public disquisitions at Rhodes every subbath-day, once refused him admittance upon his coming to hear him out of course, and sent him a message by a servant, postponing his admission until the nexth seventh day Diogenes afterwards coming to Rome, and waiting at his door to be allowed to pay his re-pects to him, he sent him word to come again at the end of seven years. To some governors, who advised him to load the provinces with taxes, he answered. It is the part of a good shopherd to shear not flay his sheep

XXXIII He assumed the soveredgaty! by slow degrees, and exercised it for a long time with great variety of conduct, though generally with a due regard to the public good. At first he only interposed to provent fill management. Accordingly he rescinded some decrees of the sensie and when the magnitudes set for the similaritation of justice, he frequently offered his service as assessor either taking his place promiscuously amongst them, or secting himself in a corner of the tribunal. If a rumour provailed, that any person under prosecution was likely to be sequited by his interest, he would suddenly make his appearance, and from the floor of the court,

<sup>1.</sup> Princeps principates, are the terms generally used by Soctorius to describe the supreme authority vested in the Casart, as before at the beginning of chap, xxiv distinguished from any terms which conveyed as idea of kingly power the forms of the republic, as we have lately seen, still subdivine.

or the prætor's bench, remind the judges of the laws, and of their oaths, and the nature of the charge brought before them He likewise took upon himself the correction of public morals, where they tended to decay, either through neglect, or evil custom

XXXIV He reduced the expense of the plays and public spectacles, by diminishing the allowances to actors, and curtailing the number of gladiators He made grievous com-plaints to the senate, that the price of Corinthian vessels was become enormous, and that three mullets had been sold for thirty thousand sesterces upon which he proposed that a new sumptuary law should be enacted, that the butchers and other dealers in viands should be subject to an assize, fixed by the senate yearly, and the ædiles commissioned to restiam eating-houses and taverns, so far as not even to permit the sale of any kind of pastry And to encourage frugality in the public by his own example, he would often, at his solemn feasts, have at his tables victuals which had been served up the day before, and were partly eaten, and half a boar, affirming, "It has all the same good bits that the whole He published an edict against the practice of people's kissing each other when they mct, and would not allow newyear's gifts' to be presented after the calends [the first] of January was passed He had been in the habit of returning these offerings four-fold, and making them with his own hand, but being annoved by the continual interruption to which he was exposed during the whole month, by those who had not the opportunity of attending him on the festival, he returned none after that day

XXXV Married women guilty of adultery, though not prosecuted publicly, he authorised the nearest relations to punish by agreement among themselves, according to ancient custom. He discharged a Roman knight from the obligation of an oath he had taken, never to turn away his wife, and allowed him to divorce her, upon her being caught in criminal intercourse with her son-in-law. Women of ill-fame, divesting themselves of the rights and dignity of matrons, had now begun a practice of professing themselves prostitutes, to avoid

<sup>1</sup> Strenas, the French étrennes

the punishment of the laws and the most profligate young men of the sensionan and equestrian orders, to secure them selves against a decree of the sensite which probabiled their performing on the stage, or in the emphitheetre voluntarily subjected themselves to an infamous sentence by which they were degraded. All those he banished, that none for the future might evide by such artifices the intention and efficacy of the law. He strapped a senator of the brood stripes on his robe, upon information of his having removed to his gardens before the calends [the first] of July in order that he might afterwards him a house cheaper in the city. He likewise dismissed another from the office of questor for repudiating the day after he had been lucky in drawing his lot, a wife whom he had married only the day before.

XXXVI. He suppressed all foreign religions, and the Egyptiant and Jowain rates, obliging those who practized that kind of superstition, to bear their restments, and all their sacred utensils. He distributed the Jowish youths, under the presence of military service among the provinces noted for an unbealthy climate and dismissed from the city all the rest of that nation as well as these who were proselytes to that religion a most pain of slavery for life, unless they compiled. He also expelled the astrologers but upon their sming for parden, and promising to renounce their profession, he revoked his decree

XXXVII. But, above all things, he was careful to keep the

Therics palled down the temple of Isla, caused her lange to be thrown into the Tiber and crudited her priesta,"—Joseph. dat Jud. xviii. 4.

"Smalle rectants" We are strongly inclined to think that the words might be resident? "similar sacta," coverying an allesion to the small and observe body of Christians, who were at this period generally confounded with the Swa, and supposed sale bits open from them is some possibilities of their hardwards which Bossel hardwards and angularizate side and trouble of their hardwards which Bossel hardwards the theoretical the same than the same state of their hardwards which Bossel hardwards are the same that the same than the same that the same than the same

public peace against robbers, burglars, and those who were disaffected to the government. He therefore increased the number of military stations throughout Italy, and formed a camp at Rome for the prætorian cohorts, which, till then, had been quartered in the city He suppressed with great severity all tumults of the people on their first breaking out, and took every precaution to prevent them Some persons having been killed in a quarrel which happened in the theatre, he banished the leaders of the parties, and the players about whom the disturbance had arisen, nor could all the entreaties of the people afterwards prevail upon him to recall them 1 The people of Pollentia having refused to permit the removal of the corpse of a centurion of the first rank from the forum, until they had extorted from his heirs a sum of money for a public exhibition of gladiators, he detached a cohort from the city, and another from the kingdom of Cottius, who concealing the cause of their march, entered the town by different gates, with their arms suddenly displayed, and trumpets sounding, and having seized the greatest part of the people, and the magistrates, they were imprisoned for life He abolished every where the privileges of all places of refuge Cyzicenians having committed an outrage upon some Romans, he deprived them of the liberty they had obtained for their good services in the Mithridatic war Disturbances from foreign enemies he quelled by his lieutenants, without ever going against them in person, nor would he even employ his lieutenants, but with much reluctance, and when it was absolutely necessary Princes who were ill-affected towards him, he kept in subjection, more by menaces and remonstrances, than by force of arms Some whom he induced to come to him by fair words and promises, he never would permit to return home, as Maraboduus the German, Thrascypolis the

Varro tells us that the Roman people "were more actively employed (manus movere) in the theatre and circus, than in the corn fields and vineyards"—De Re Rustic ii And Juvenal, in his satires, frequently alludes to their passion for public spectacles, particularly in the well-known lines—

Atque duas tantum res serrus optat,
Panem et Circenses Sat x 80

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Cottian Alps derived their name from this king They include that part of the chain which divides Dauphiny from Piedmont, and are crosse, by the pass of the Mont Cenis

Threetan and Archelans the Cappadocian, whose kingdom he even reduced into the form of a province.

VXXVIII He never set foot outside the getes of Rome, for two years together from the time he assumed the supreme power and after that period, went no farther from the city than to some of the neighbouring towns his farthest exers sten being to Antium and that but very redom and for a few days though he often gave out that he would visit the provinces and armies, and made preparations for it almost every year by taking up carriages, and ordering provisions for his retinue in the municipia and colonies. At last he suffered rows to be put up for his good journey and after return insemuch that he was called joccody by the name of Callipides who is famous in a Greek goversh, for being in a great hurry to go forward but without ever advancing a cubit.

XXXIX. But after the loss of his two sons, of whom Ber manieus died in Syria, and Drusns at Rome, he withdrew into Campanna at which time opinion and conversation were almost general, that he nover would return and would die soon. And both nearly turned out to be true. For indeed he nover more came to Itome, and a few days after leaving it, when he was at a rilla of his called the Cave near Terroeina, aduring supper a great many lugo stones fell from above which killed several of the guests and attendants but he almost hopelessly eccaped.

XL. After he had gone round Companis, and dedicated the capitel at Capia, and a temple to Augustus at Nola, which he made the pretext of his journey he retired to Capri being

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Astinu, mentioned before, (Are a. Irill.) once a flourishing city of the Yolekans, stending on the sea-costs, about thirty-ciph talled from Roms, was a favourise resort of the imperors and persons of wealth. The Apollo Rividers was found except the rules of its temples and other colleges.
<sup>3</sup> Arm a, 770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Terracius, standing at the southern extremity of the Pontine Marshes, on the shore of the Mediterranean. It is surrounded by high calcuraces chiffs, in which there are externs, affording as Strabo informs us, cool retreats, stached to the Roman villes both round.

Augustus died at Nois, a city in Campania. See c. Ivili. of bis life

greatly delighted with the island, because it was accessible only by a narrow beach, being on all sides surrounded with rugged cliffs, of a stupendous height, and by a deep sea. But immediately, the people of Rome being extremely clamorous for his return, on account of a disaster at Fidenæ, where upwards of twenty thousand persons had been killed by the fall of the amphitheatre, during a public spectacle of gladiators, he crossed over again to the continent, and gave all people free access to him, so much the more, because, at his departure from the city, he had caused it to be proclaimed that no one should address him, and had declined admitting any persons to his presence, on the journey

XLI Returning to the island, he so far abandoned all care of the government, that he never filled up the decurie of the knights, never changed any military tribunes or prefects, or governors of provinces, and kept Spain and Syria for several years without any consular heutenants. He likewise suffered Armenia to be seized by the Parthians, Mæsia by the Dacians and Sarmatians, and Gaul to be ravaged by the Germans, to the great disgrace, and no less danger, of the empire

XLII But having now the advantage of privacy, and being remote from the observation of the people of Rome, he abandoned himself to all the vicious propensities which he had long but imperfectly concealed, and of which I shall here give a particular account from the beginning. While a young soldier in the camp, he was so remarkable for his excessive inclination to wine, that, for Tiberius, they called him Biberius, for Claudius, Caldius, and for Nero, Mero. And after he succeeded to the empire, and was invested with the office of reforming the morality of the people, he spent a whole night and two days together in feasting and drinking with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso, to one of whom he immediately gave the province of Syria, and to the other the prefecture of the city, declaring them, in his letters-patent, to be "very pleasant companions, and friends fit for all occasions". He made an appointment to sup with Sestius Gallus, a lewd and prodigal old fellow, who had been disgraced by Augustus, and repri-

Fidenæ stood in a bend of the Tiber, near its junction with the Anio. There are few traces of it remaining.

manded by himself but a few days before in the senate-house; upon condition that he should not recede in the least from his riual method of entertainment, and that they should be attended at table by naked girls. He preferred a very obscure candidate for the questorship, before the most noble competitors, only for taking off, in pledging him at table an amphora of wine at a draught. He presented Asellius Sabinus with two hundred thousand sestorces for writing a dialogue, in the way of dispute, betwixt the truffle and the fig pecker the oyster and the thrush. He likewise instituted a new office to administer to his voluptuousness, to which he appointed Titus Occomina Prisons, a Roman knight.

XLIII. In his retreat at Capri a he also contrived an apart ment containing couches, and adapted to the secret practice of abominable lewdness, where he entertained commanies of girls and entamites, and assembled from all quarters inventors of unnatural copulations, whom he called Spiniria who defiled one another in his presence, to inflame by the exhibition the languid appetite. He had several chambers set round with plotures and staines in the most lessivious attitudes, and fur maked with the books of Elephantis, that none might want a pattern for the execution of any lewd project that was prescribed him. He likewise contrived recesses in woods and groves for the gratification of last, where young persons of both sexes prostututed themselves in cares and hollow rocks, in the disgular of little Pans and Nympha. So that he was nublicly and commonly called, by an abuse of the name of the island Caprisons 1

XLIV But he was still more infamous, if possible, for an 1 That any man could drink an employe of wine at a draught, is be-

2 Capri, the luxurious retreat and scene of the debancheries of the Roman emperors, is an island off the southern point of the bay of Asples,

about twal e miles in circumference.

2 Pan, the god of the shepherds and inventor of the flute, was said to be the son of Morcury and Penelope. He was worshipped chiefly in Arcadis, and represented with the horns and feet of a goat. The Nymphs, as well as the Graces, were represented maked.

4 The name of the island having a double meaning, and signifying also e graf.

youd all credibility for the amphore was scarly equal to ribe gallous, English measure. The probability is, that the mas had emptied a large rouel, which was shaped like an smalers.

abomination not fit to be mentioned or heard, much less credited 1 4 4 When a picture, painted by Parrhasius. in which the artist had represented Atalanta in the act of submitting to Mcleager's lust in a most unnatural way, was bequeathed to him, with this proviso, that if the subject was offensive to him, he might receive in lieu of it a million of sesterces, he not only chose the picture, but hung it up in his bed-chamber It is also reported that, during a sacrifice, he was so captivated with the form of a youth who held a censer, that, before the religious rites were well over, he took him aside and abused him, as also a brother of his who had been playing the flute, and soon afterwards broke the legs of both of them, for upbraiding one another with their shame

XLV How much he was guilty of a most foul intercourse with women even of the first quality, appeared very plainly by the death of one Mallonia, who, being brought to his bed, but resolutely refusing to comply with his lust, he gave her up to the common informers. Even when she was upon her trial, he frequently called out to her, and asked her, "Do you repent" until she, quitting the court, went home, and stabbed herself, openly upbraiding the vile old lecher for his gross obscenity. Hence there was an allusion to him in a farce, which was acted at the next public sports, and was received with great applause, and became a common topic of ridicule. That the old goat.

XLVI He was so niggardly and covetous, that he never allowed to his attendants, in his travels and expeditions, any salary, but their diet only Once, indeed, he treated them liberally, at the instigation of his step-father, when, dividing them into three classes, according to their rank, he gave that

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Quasi pueros prime teneritudinis, quos 'pisciculos' vocabat, institueret, ut natanti sibi inter femina versarentur, ac luderent lingua morsuque sensim appetentes, atque etiam quasi infantes firmiores, necdum tamen lacte depulsos, inguini ceu papille admoveret promor sane ad id genus libidinis, et naturà et ætate"

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;Fæminarum capitibus solitus illudere"

<sup>&</sup>quot;Obscœnitate oris hirsuto atque olido"
"Hircum vetulum capreis naturam ligurire"

first six, the second four and the third two hundred thousand sesterces, which last class he called not friends, but Greeks.

XLVII During the whole time of his government, he never erected any noble edifice for the only things he did undertake, namely building the temple of Augustus, and restoring Pompey's Theatro, he left at last, after many years, unfinished. Not did he ever entertain the people with public spectacles and he was seldom present at those which were given by others, lest any thing of that kind should be requested of him especially after he was obliged to give freedom to the councilan Action. Having relieved the poverty of a few sens ters, to avoid further demands, he declared that he should for the fature assist none, but those who gave the senate full satisfaction as to the cause of their necessity. Upon thus, most of the needy senators from modesty and shame, declined troubling him. Amongst these was Hortalea, grandson to the celebrated orator Quintus Hortensius, who [marrying], by the persuasion of Augustus, had brought up four children upon a very small estate.

XLVIII He displayed only two instances of public munificence. One was an offer to lend gratis, for three years, a hundred milliams of sosteroes to those who wanted to horrow; and the other when, some large houses being burnt down upon Mount Cadua, he indemnifed the owners. To the former of these he was compelled by the clamours of the people in a great searcity of money when he had ratified a decree of the senate obliging all money lenders to advance two-thirds of their capital on land and the debtors to pay off at once the same proportion of their dobts, and it was found insufficient to remedy the gnormane. The other he did to alleviate in some degree the pressure of the time. But his benefaction to the sufferent by fire, he estimated at so high a rate, that he ordered the Cellian H.II to be called, in future, the Augustan. To the soldiery, after doubling the legacy left them by Augustas, he never gave any thing, except a thousand denaril a man to the preform guards, for not joining the party of Sejanus and some presents to the legious in Syria, because they alone had not he added on the added on the added on the soldier, sold the soldier gave discharges of the veteran soldiers, calculating

on their deaths from advanced age, and on what would be saved by thus getting rid of them, in the way of rewards or pensions. Nor did he ever relieve the provinces by any act of generosity, excepting Asia, where some cities had been destroyed by an earthquake

XLIX. In the course of a very short time, he turned his mind to sheer robbery It is certain that Cneius Lentulus, the augur, a man of vast estate, was so terrified and worried by his threats and importunities, that he was obliged to make him his heir, and that Lepida, a lady of a very noble family, was condemned by him, in order to gratify Quirinus, a man of consular rank, extremely rich, and childless, who had divorced her twenty years before, and now charged her with an old design to poison him Several persons, likewise, of the first distinction in Gaul, Spain, Syria, and Greece, had their estates confiscated upon such despicably trifling and shameless pietences, that against some of them no other charge was preferred, than that they held large sums of ready money as part of their property Old immunities, the rights of mining, and of levying tolls, were taken from several cities and private persons And Vonones, king of the Parthians, who had been driven out of his dominions by his own subjects, and fled to Antioch with a vast treasure, claiming the protection of the Roman people, his allies, was treacherously robbed of all his money, and afterwards murdered

L He first manifested hatred towards his own relations in the case of his brother Drusus, betraying him by the production of a letter to himself, in which Drusus proposed that Augustus should be forced to restore the public liberty. In course of time, he shewed the same disposition with regard to the rest of his family. So far was he from performing any office of kindness or humanity to his wife, when she was banished, and, by her father's order, confined to one town, that he forbad her to stir out of the house, or converse with any men. He even wronged her of the dowry given her by her father, and of her yearly allowance, by a quibble of law, because Augustus had made no provision for them on her behalf in his will Being harassed by his mother, Livia, who claimed an equal share in the government with him, he frequently aroided

seeing her and all long and private conferences with her let' it should be thought that he was governed by her counsels, which notwithstanding, he sometimes sought, and was in the habit of adopting. He was much offended at the senate when they proposed to add to his other titles that of the Bon of Livia, as well as Augustus. He, therefore would not suffer her to be called the Mother of her Country nor to receive any extraordinary public distinction. Kay he frequently admonstrated her not to meddle with weighty affairs, and such as did not suit her acx;" especially when he found her present at a fire which broke out near the Temple of Vesta,' and encouraging the people and soldiers to use their utmost exertions as a he had been used to do in the time of her hubband

II. He afterwards proceeded to an open rupiture with her, and as us and, upon this occasion. She having frequently urged him to place among the judges a person who had been made free of the city he refused her request, unless she would allow it to be inscribed on the roll. That the eppointment had been exterted from him by his mother. Energed at this, Livin brought forth from her chapel some letters from Augustus to her complaining of the sourness and insolvers of Therius a temper and these she read. So much was he of fended at these letters having been kept so long and now produced with so much bitteness against him that some considered this incident as one of the onuses of his going into reclusion, if not the principal reason for his so doing. In the

1 The Temple of Vesta, like that dedicated to the same goddess at Troil, is round. There was probably one on the same site, and in the same detailer form, erocted by Nama Founditing the present cities is far too elegant for that ago, but there is no record of its erection ber it is known to have been repeired by Vespesian or Domitian site releig is jured by Mron fire. Its altestion, near the Tiber exposed it to foods, from which we had it suffered, from Horace's Bessen.

"Vidinus flavum Tiberim, retortis Littore Etrusco violester undis, Iro dejectum monumenta Regis,

The beautiful templa is still in good preservation. It is nurrounded by twenty columns of white metals, and the wall of the cili, or interior (which is very essell, it is dissected being colly the length of one of the columns), is also buff of thocks of the same material, so alorly journ, it is it was to buff or in acid less.

whole years she lived during his retirement, he saw her but once, and that for a few hours only. When she fell side shortly afterwards, he was quite unconcerned about visiting her in her illness, and when she died, after promising to attend her funeral, he deferred his coming for several days, so that the corpse was in a state of decay and putrefaction before the interment, and he then forbad divine honours being paid to her, pretending that he acted according to her own directions. He likewise annulled her will, and in a short time ruincd all her friends and acquaintance, not even sparing those to whom, on her death-bed, she had recommended the care of her funeral, but condemning one of them, a man of equestrian rank, to the treadmill 1

LII He entertained no paternal affection either for his own son Drusus, or his adopted son Germanicus Offended at the vices of the former, who was of a loose disposition and led a dissolute life, he was not much affected at his death, but, almost immediately after the funeral, resumed his attention to business, and prevented the courts from being longer closed ambassadors from the people of Dium coming rather late to offer their condolence, he said to them by way of banter, as if the affair had already faded from his memory, "And I heartily eondole with you on the loss of your renowned countryman, Hector" He so much affected to depreciate Germanicus, that he spoke of his achievements as utterly insignificant, and railed at his most glorious victories as ruinous to the state. complaining of him also to the senate for going to Alexandria without his knowledge, upon occasion of a great and sudden famine at Rome It was believed that he took care to have him dispatched by Cneius Piso, his lieutenant in Syria This person was afterwards tried for the murder, and would, as was supposed, have produced his orders, had they not been contained in a private and confidential dispatch The following words therefore were posted up in many places, and frequently shouted in the night "Give us back our Germanicus" This suspicion was afterwards confirmed by the barbarous treatment of his wife and children

<sup>1</sup> Antha, a machine for drawing up water in a series of connected buckets, which was worked by the feet, nisu pedum

LIII. His daughter in law Agrappins, after the death of that it is daugher in inw agripping, and the best of the hand, complaining upon some occasion with more than ordinary freedom, he took her by the hand, and addressed her in a Greek verse to this effect. My dear child, do you think younself injured, because you are not empress? Nor did he errer vouchasse to speak to her again. Upon her refusing once at support o teste some fruit which he presented to her he declined inviting her to his table, pretending that she in effect charged him with a design to posson her whereas the whole was a contrivance of his own He was to offer the fruit and she to be privately cautioned against eating what would infal libly cause her death. At last, having her seemed of intending to fice for refuge to the statue of Augustus or to the army he banished her to the island of Pandataria. Upon her reviling him for it, he caused a conturion to beat out one of her eyes and when she resolved to starve herself to death he ordered her mouth to be forced open, and meat to be crammed down her threat. But she persisting in her resolution and dying soon afterwards, he persecuted her memory with the lowest asper sions, and permeded the senate to put her birth-day amongst the number of unlucky days in the calendar. He likewise took credit for not having caused her to be strangled and her body cast upon the Gemonian Steps, and suffered a decree of the senate to pass, thanking him for his elemeney and an offering of gold to be made to Jupiter Capitalians on the oc CARGOS.

LIV He had by Germanicus three grandsons, Aero Drusus, and Caina and by his son Drusus one named Tiberns. Of these, after the loss of his sons, he commended Nero and Drusus, the two eldest sons of Germanicus, to the senate and at their being solemnly introduced into the forum, distributed namey smong the people. But when he found that on entering upon the new year they were included in the public vorse for his own welfars, he told the senate that such honours ought not to be conferred but upon those who had been proved, and were of more advanced years. By thus solvinying his private feelings towards them he exposed them to all sorts of accusations and after practising many artiflets to provides

The cidar Livia was banished to this filand by Augustus. See c. ixv of his life.

them to rail at and abuse him, that he might be furnished with a pretence to destroy them, he charged them with it in a letter to the senate, at the same time accusing them, in the bitterest terms, of the most scandalous vices. Upon their being declared enemics by the senate, he starved them to death. Nero in the island of Ponza, and Drusus in the vaults of the Palatium. It is thought by some, that Nero was driven to a voluntary death by the executioner's shewing him some halters and hooks, as if he had been sent to him by order of the senate Drusus, it is said, was so rabid with hunger, that he attempted to eat the chaff with which his mattress was stuffed. The relics of both were so seattered, that it was with difficulty they were collected.

LV Besides his old friends and intimate acquaintance, he required the assistance of twenty of the most eminent persons in the city, as counsellors in the administration of public affairs. Out of all this number, scarcely two or three escaped the fury of his savage disposition. All the rest he destroyed upon one pretence or another, and among them Ælius Sejanus, whose fall was attended with the ruin of many others. He had advanced this minister to the highest pitch of grandeur, not so much from any real regard for him, as that by his base and sinister contrivances he might ruin the children of Germanicus, and thereby secure the succession to his own grandson by Drusus

LVI He treated with no greater leniency the Greeks in his family, even those with whom he was most pleased. Having asked one Zeno, upon his using some far-fetched phrases, "What uncouth dialect is that?" he replied, "The Doric" For this answer he banished him to Cinara, suspecting that he taunted him with his former residence at Rhodes, where the Doric dialect is spoken. It being his custom to start questions at supper, arising out of what he had been reading in the day, and finding that Scleucus, the grammarian, used to inquire of his attendants what authors he was then studying, and so came prepared for his enquiries—he first turned him out of his family, and then drove him to the extremity of laying violent hands upon himself

<sup>&#</sup>x27; An island in the Archipelago.

LVII His eruel and sullen temper appeared when he was still a boy which Theodorus of Gudara, his master in rhetoria, first discovered, and expressed by a very apposite simile calling him sometimes, when be and him " Mud mixed with blood," But his disposition showed itself still more clearly on his attenning the imperial power and even in the beginning of his administration, when he was endeavouring to gain the popular favour by affecting moderation Upon a funeral pass ing by a wag called out to the deed man, ' Tell Augustus, that the legacies he bequeathed to the people are not yet paid " The man being brought before him, he ordered that he should receive what was due to him and then be led to execution that he might deliver the message to his father himself. Not long afterwards, when one Pompey a Roman knight, persisted in his opposition to something he proposed in the senste he threatened to put him in prison, and told him Of a Pompey I shall make a Pompoian of you; by a litter kind of pun playing upon the man a name, and the ill fortune of his party

LYIII. About the same time, when the prestor consulted him, whether it was his pleasure that the tribunals should take cornirance of accusations of transon, he replied. ' The laws ought to be put in execution; and he did put them in execution most severely. Bome person had taken off the head of Augustus from one of his statues, and replaced it by another ? The matter was brought before the senate and because the case was not clear the witnesses were put to the torture The party socused being found guilty and condemned this kind of proceeding was carried so far that it became capital or a man to beat his slave, or change his clothes, near the statue of Augustus; to carry his head stamped upon the coin, or cut in the stone of a ring, into a necessary house or the stows or to reflect upon anything that had been either and or done by him. In fine, a person was condemned to death for suffering some honours to be decreed to him in the colony where he lived, upon the same day on which they had formerly been decreed to Augustus.

It mattered not that the head substituted was Tiberius a own.

This Theodore is noticed by Quintiffan, Instit. III. 1 Gadara was in Syria.

LIX He was besides guilty of many barbarous actions. under the pretence of strictness and reformation of manners. but more to gratify his own savage disposition Some verses were published, which displayed the present calamities of his reign, and anticipated the future 1

> Asper et immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam? Dispeream si te mater amare potest Non es eques, quare? non sunt tibi millia centum? Omnia si quæras, et Rhodos exsilium est Aurea mutâsti Saturni sæcula, Cæsar Incolumi nam te, ferrea semper erunt Fastidit vinum, quia jam sitit iste cruorem Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum Adspice felicem sibi, non tibi, Romulc, Sullam Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem Nec non Antonî civilia bella inoventis Nec semel infectas adspice cæda manus Et dic, Roma perit regnabit sanguine multo. Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exsilio

Obdurate wretch! too fierce, too fell to move The least kind yearnings of a mother's love! No knight thou art, as having no estate, Long suffered'st thou in Rhodes an exile's fate, No more the happy Golden Age we see, The Iron's come, and sure to last with thee Instead of wine he thirsted for before, He wallows now in floods of human gore Reflect, ye Romans, on the dreadful times, Made such by Marius, and by Sylla's crimes Reflect how Antony's ambitious rage Twice sear'd with horror a distracted age. And say, Alas! Rome's blood in streams will flow, When banish'd miscreants rule this world below

At first he would have it understood, that these satirical verses were drawn forth by the resentment of those who were impatient under the discipline of reformation, rather than that they spoke their real sentiments, and he would frequently say, "Let them hate me, so long as they do but approve my conduct"2 At length, however, his behaviour showed that he was sensible they were too well founded

<sup>1</sup> The verses were probably anonymous

<sup>2</sup> Oderint dum probent Caligula used a similar expression, O leirst dum metuant

LX A few days after his erroral of Capin, a fisherman reming up to him unexpectedly a hen he was desirous of privey and presenting him with a large mulich, he ordered the man a face to be scrubbed with the fish being terrified at the thought of his herring been able to erecp upon him from the back of the island ever such rugged and steep rocks. The man, while undergoing the punishment, expressing his joy that he had not likewise effected him a large crab which he had also taken, he ordered his face to be farther lecerated with its claws. He put to death one of the protorain guards, for having stalen a peaceck out of his orchard. In one of his formers, his litter being obstructed by some bushes, he or dered the officer whose duty it was to ride on and examine the road, a centurion of the first coloris to be laid on his face upon the ground, and sourged almost to death

LXI Boon afterwards, he abandoned himself to every specles of cruelty never wanting occasions of one kind or another to serve as a pretext. He first fell upon the friends and acquaintance of his mother then those of his grandsons, and his daughter in-law and lastly those of Sejanus after whose death he became cruel in the extreme. From this it appeared that he had not been so much instignted by Sejanus, as supplied with occasions of gratifying his savage temper when he wanted them. Though in a short memor which he compound of his own life he had the effrontery to write. I have pun maked Sojamus, because I found him bent upon the desiruetion of the children of my son Germanicus, one of these he put to death, when he began to suspect Sejanus; and another after he was taken off. It would be tedious to relate all the numerous instances of his crucity : suffice it to give a few examples, in their different kinds. Not a day passed without the punishment of some person or other not excepting holidays, or those appropriated to the worship of the gods. Some were tried even on New Your s-Day who were condemned, their wives and children shared the same fate and for those who were sentenced to death the relations were forbid to put on mourning Considerable rewords were roted for the prosecutors, and sometimes for the wrinesect also The information of any person without exception, was taken; and all offences were capital, even speak

ing a few words, though without any ill intention. A poet was charged with abusing Agamemnon, and a historian, for calling Brutus and Cassius "the last of the Romans". The two authors were immediately called to account, and their writings suppressed, though they had been well received some years before, and read in the hearing of Augustus Some, who were thrown into prison, were not only denied the solace of study, but debarred from all company and conversation. Many persons, when summoned to trial, stabbed themselves at home, to avoid the distress and ignominy of a public condemnation, which they were certain would ensue Others took poison in the senate house The wounds were bound up, and all who had not expired, were carried, half-dead, and panting for life, to prison Those who were put to death, were thrown down the Gemonian stairs, and then dragged into the Tiber In one day, twenty were treated in this manner, and amongst them women and boys Bccause, according, to an ancient custom, it was not lawful to strangle virgins, the young girls were first deflowered by the executioner, and afterwards strangled Those who were desirous to die, were forced to live For he thought death so slight a punishment, that upon hearing that Carnulius, one of the accused, who was under prosecution, had killed himself, he exclaimed, "Carnulius has escaped me" In calling over his prisoners, when one of them requested the favour of a speedy death, he replied, "You are not yet restored to favour" A man of consular rank writes in his annals, that at table, where he himself was present with a large company, he was suddenly asked aloud by a dwarf who stood by amongst the buffoons, why Paconius, who was under a prosecution for treason, lived so long Tiberius immediately reprimanded him for his pertness, but wrote to the senate a few days after, to proceed without delay to the punishment of Paconius

LXII Exasperated by information he received respecting the death of his son Drusus, he carried his cruelty still farther. He imagined that he had died of a disease occasioned

AUC 778 Tacit Annal iv The historian's name was A Cremutius Cordo Dio has preserved the passage, vivii p 619 Brutus had already called Cassius "The last of the Romans," in his lamentation over his dead body

by his intemperance but finding that he had been poisoned by the contrivance of his wife Livilia' and Sejanu he spared no one from torture and death. He was so entirely occupied with the examination of this affair for whole days together that, upon being informed that the person in whose house he had lodged at Rhodes, and whom he had by a friendly letter invited to Rome was arrived he ordered him immediately to be put to the torture as a party concerned in the enquiry Upon finding his mistake, he commanded him to be put to death, that he might not publish the injury done him. The place of execution is still shown at Capri where he ordered those who were condemned to the after long and exqui ite tortures, to be thrown, before his eyes from a precipire into the sea. There a party of soldiers belonging to the fleet walted for them, and broke their bones with poles and care lest they should have any life left in them. Among various kinds of torture invented by him, one was, to induce people to drink a large quantity of wine and then to tie up their mem bers with harp-strings, thus termenting them at once by the tightness of the lighture, and the stoppage of their prine II ad not death provented him, and Throsyllus, designedly as some may prevailed with him to defer some of his crucities in hopes of longer life, it is believed that he would have destroyed many more and not have spared even the rest of his grand for he was joalous of Caius, and hated Tiberins as having been concerved in adultery. This conjecture is indeed highly probable for he used often to say Happy I riam who survived all his children !"

LXIII. Amidst these cuoralities, in how much fear and apprehension, as well as odium and detectation be lived is evident from many indications. He forbade the sectionsycre to be consulted in private, and without some witnesses being prewant He attempted to suppress the oracles in the neighbourhood of the city but being terrified by the dirent sutherity of the

She was the aister of Germankess, and Tacitas calls her Livia; but Sectonius is in the habit of giving a fondling or dissimultes term to the names of women, as Claud lia, fo Claudia, Plantilla, &c.

Priam is said to have had no less than fifty sons and camputers some of the latter however survived him as Hecube, Helena, Palyama, and others. Prænestile Lots, he abandoned the design. For though they were sealed up in a box, and carried to Rome, yet they were not to be found in it, until it was returned to the temple. More than one person of consular rank, appointed governors of provinces, he never ventured to dismiss to their respective destinations, but kept them until several years after, when he nominated their successors, while they still remained present with him. In the meantime, they bore the title of their office, and he frequently gave them orders, which they took care to have executed by their deputies and assistants.

LXIV He never removed his daughter-in-law, or grandsons,<sup>2</sup> after their condemnation, to any place, but in fetters and in a covered litter, with a guard to hinder all who met them on the road, and travellers, from stopping to gaze at them

LXV After Sejanus had plotted against him, though he saw that his birth-day was solemnly kept by the public, and divine honours paid to golden images of him in every quarter, vet it was with difficulty at last, and more by artifice than his imperial power, that he accomplished his death. In the first place, to remove him from about his person, under the pretext of doing him honour, he made him his colleague in his fifth consulship, which, although then absent from the city, he took upon him for that purpose, long after his preceding consulship Then, having flattered him with the hope of an alliance by marriage with one of his own kindred, and the prospect of the tribunitian authority, he suddenly, while Sejanus little expected it, charged him with treason, in an abject and pitiful address to the senate, in which, among other things, he begged them "to send one of the consuls, to conduct himself, a poor solitary old man, with a guard of soldiers, into their presence" distrustful, however, and apprehensive of an insurrection, he ordered his grandson, Drusus, whom he still kept in confinement at Rome, to be set at liberty, and if occasion required, to head the troops He had likewise ships in readiness to transport him to any of the legions to which he might consider it expedient to make his escape Meanwhile, he was upon the

<sup>2</sup> Agrippina, and Nero and Drnsus

<sup>1</sup> There were oracles at Antium and Tibur The "Prænestine Lots' are described by Cicero, De Divin x1 41

watch, from the summit of a lofty cliff, for the signals which he had ordered to be made if any thing occurred, but the measurers should be tarly. Even when he had quite folded the compiracy of Sejanus, he was still haunted as much as ever with fears and apprehensions, incomment that he never once stirred out of the Villa Joris for nune months after

LXVI. To the extremo anxiety of mind which he now experienced, he had the martification to find superadded the most pagasant reproaches from all quarters. Those who were condemned to die heaped upon hun the most opprehiens language in his presence or by hand bills scattered in the senators seats in the theater. These produced different effects: sometimes he wished out of shame, to have all smothered and concealed; at other times he would disregard what was said, and publish it hunsel!. To this secumulation of canada and open saresson, there is to be subjoined a letter from Artabanus, king of the Parthians, in which he upbraids him with his parrieder, murders, covardice, and lewdness, and advises him to satisfy the furnous rage of his own people which he had so justiy excited, by putting an end to his life without delay.

LXVII At last being quite weary of himself, he seknow ledged his extreme misery in a letter to the senate which begun thus What to write to you Conscript Fothers, or how to write, or what not to write of this time may all the gods and goddesses pour upon my head a more terrible venge ance than that under which I feel myself daily sinking if I Some are of opinion that he had a foreknowledge of those things, from his skill in the science of divination, and per ceived long before what misery and infamy would at last come upon him and that for this reason, at the beginning of his reign, he had absolutely refused the title of the Father of his Country and the proposal of the senate to swear to be acts; less he should afterwards, to his greater shame, be found un equal to such extraordinary honours. This, indeed, may be justly inferred from the speeches which he mede noon both those occasions as when he says. I shall over be the same and shall never change my conduct, so long as I rotain my senses but to avoid giving a bad precedent to posterity the senate ought to beware of binding themselves to the acts of any person whatever, who might by some accident or other be induced to alter them " And again "If ye should at ary time entertain a jealousy of my conduct, and my entire affection for you, which heaven prevent by putting a period to my days, rather than I should live to see such an alteration in your opinion of me, the title of Father will add no honour to me, but be a reproach to you, for your rashness in conferring it upon me, or inconstancy in altering your opinion of me"

LXVIII In person he was large and robust, of a stature somewhat above the common size, broad in the shoulders and chest, and proportionable in the rest of his frame He used his left hand more readily and with more force than his right, and his joints were so strong, that he could bore a fresh, sound apple through with his finger, and wound the head of a boy, or even a young man, with a fillip He was of a fair complexion, and wore his hair so long behind, that it covered his neck, which was observed to be a mark of distinction affected by the family He had a handsome face, but it was often full of pimples His eyes, which were large, had a wonderful faculty of seeing in the night-time, and in the dark, for a short time only, and immediately after awaking from sleep, but they soon grew dim again He walked with his neck stiff and upright generally with a frowning countenance, being for the most part silent when he spoke to those about him, it was very slowly, and usually accompanied with a slight gesticulation of his fingers All which, being repulsive habits and signs of arrogance, were remarked by Augustus, who often endcavoured to excuse them to the senate and people, declaring that "they were natural defects, which proceeded from no viciousness of mind" He enjoyed a good state of health, without interruption, almost during the whole period of his rule, though, from the thirtieth year of his age, he treated it himself according to his own discretion, without any medical assistance

LXIX In regard to the gods, and matters of religion, he discovered much indifference, being greatly addicted to astrology, and fully persuaded that all things were governed by fate. Yet he was extremely afraid of lightning, and when the sky was in a disturbed state, always were a laurel erown on his head, because it is supposed that the leaf of that tree is never touched by the lightning

LXX He applied himself with great diligence to the liberal arts, both Greek and Latin. In his Latin style, he affected to imitate Messala Corvinus, a venerable man to whom he had paid much respect in his own early years. But he rendered his style obscure by excessive affectation and abstruseness, so that he was thought to speak better extempore, than in a promeditated discourse. He composed likewise a lyric ode under the title of A Lamentation upon the death of Lucius Count " and also some Greek poems, in imitation of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthonins. These poets he greatly admired and placed their works and statues in the public libraries, amongst the eminent authors of antiquity. On this account, most of the learned men of the time vied with each other in publishing observations upon them which they addressed to him. His principal study however was the history of the fabulous ages, inquiring even into its trifling details in a ridiculous manner for he used to try the grammarians, a class of men which, as I have already observed, he much affected, with such questions as these Who was Hecuba smother? What name did Achilles assume among the virgins? What was it that the Sirens used to sing?" And the first day that he entored the sonate-house after the death of Augustus, as if he intended to pay respect at once to his father's memory and to the gods, he made an offering of frankincense and wine, but without any music, in unitation of Minos, upon the death of his son.

LXXI. Though he was ready and conversant with the Greek tongue, yet he did not use it everywhere; but chiefly he avoided it in the senate-house, meemach that having occur aton to employ the word scorepolius (monopoly) he first begged partien for being colliged to adopt a foreign word. And when, in a decree of the senate, the word ip 30,000 (multion) was read, he proposed to have it changed, and that a Latin word should be substituted in its room or if no proper one could be found to express the thing by qureumlocation. A soldier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He is mentioned before in the Life of Augustus, c. xc.; and also by Horaca, Clorro, and Tactim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Obscure Greek poets, whose writings were either fall of fabulous stories, or of an amatory kind.

who was examined as a witness upon a trial, in Greek, he would not allow to reply, except in Latin

LXXII During the whole time of his seclusion at Capri, twice only he made an effort to visit Rome Once he came in a galley as far as the gardens near the Naumachia, but placed guards along the banks of the Tiber, to keep off all who should offer to come to meet him The second time he travelled on the Appian way,2 as far as the seventh mile-stone from the city, but he immediately returned, without entering it, having only taken a view of the walls at a distance For what reason he did not disembark in his first excursion, is uncertain, but in the last, he was deterred from entering the city by a prodigy He was in the habit of diverting himself with a snake, and upon going to feed it with his own hand, according to custom, he found it devoured by ants from which he was advised to beware of the fury of the mob On this account, returning in all haste to Campania, he fell ill at Astura, 8 but recovering a little, went on to Circeii 4 And to obviate any suspicion of his being in a bad state of health, he was not only present at the sports in the camp, but encountered, with javelins, a wild boar, which was let loose in the arena Being immediately seized with a pain in the side, and catching cold upon his over-heating himself in the exercise, he relapsed into a worse condition than he was before He held out, however, for some time, and sailing as far as Misenum, omitted nothing

1 It is suggested that the text should be amended, so that the sentence should read—"A Greek soldier," for of what use could it have been to examine a man in Greek, and not allow him to give his replies in the same language?

<sup>2</sup> So called from Appus Claudius, the Censor, one of Tiberius's ancestors, who constructed it—It took a direction southward of Rome, through Campania to Brundusium, starting from what is the present Porta di San

Sebastiano, from which the road to Naples takes its departure

3 A small town on the coast of Latium, not far from Antium, and the present Nettuno It was here that Cicero was slain by the satellites of Antony

A town on a promontory of the same dreary coast, between Antium and Terracina, built on a promontory surrounded by the sea and the marsh

still called Circello

5 Misenum, a promontory to which Æneas is said to have given its
name from one of his followers (Æn ii 234) It is now called Capo di
Mis no, and shelters the harbour of Mola di Gaieta, belonging to Naples
This was one of the stations of the Roman fleet

in als usual mode of life, not even in his entertainments, and other gratifications, partly from an ungovernable appetite, and partly to conceal his conduiton. For Charoles, a physician, having obtained leave of absence on his rising from table took his hand to kiss it; upon which Tiberius, supposing he did it to feel his pulse, desired him to stay and resume his place and continued the entertainment longer than usual. Nor did he omit his usual custom of taking his stotlon in the centre of the spertment, a letter standing by him, while he took leave of each of the party by name

LXXIII. Meanwhile, finding, upon looking over the acts of the senate, that some person under prosecution had been discharged, without being brought to a hearing for he had only written cursorily that they had been denounced by an in former he complained in a great rage that he was treated with contempt, and resolved at all hazards to return to Capri not daring to attempt any thing until he found himself in a place of security. But being detained by storms, and the increas-ing violence of his decorder he died shortly afterwards, at a villa formerly belonging to Lucullus, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the twenty third of his reign, upon the soven teenth of the calends of April [16th March], in the consul ship of Cheins Acerronius Proculus and Chius Pontius Niger Some think that a slow-consuming poison was given him by Caius. Others say that during the interval of the intermit tent fover with which he happened to be sensed, upon asking for food, it was denied him. Others report, that he was stifled by a pillow thrown upon him when, on his recovering from a swoon, he called for his ring, which had been taken from him in the fit. Seneca writes, That finding himself dying he took his agnot ring off his finger and held it a while, as if he would deliver it to somebody but put it again upon his finger and lay for some time, with his loft hand clenched, and without stirring when suddenly summoning his attendants,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tacities agrees with Sustantus as to the age of Tiberius at the time of his death. Dio states it more precisely as being seventy-seven years, four months and rate days.

Scalin Caligula, who become his successor Tactus and Dio add that he was amothered under a heap of heavestother.

and no one answering the call, he rose, but his strength failing him, he fell down at a short distance from his bed

LXXIV Upon his last birth-day, he had brought a full-sized statue of the Timenian Apollo from Syracuse, a work of exquisite art; intending to place it in the library of the new temple, but he dreamt that the god appeared to him in the night, and assured him "that his statue could not be creeted by him". A few days before he died, the Pharos at Capri was thrown down by an earthquake. And at Misenum, some embers and live coals, which were brought in to warm his apartment, went out, and after being quite cold, burst out into a flame again towards evening, and continued burning very brightly for several hours.

LXXV The people were so much elated at his death, that when they first heard the news, they ran up and down the eity, some crying out, "Away with Tiberius to the Tiber," others exclaiming, "May the carth, the common mother of mankind, and the infernal gods, allow him no abode in death, but amongst the wicked" Others threatened his body with the hook and the Gemonian stairs, their indignation at his former cruelty being increased by a recent atrocity. It had been provided by an act of the senate, that the execution of condemned criminals should always be deferred until the tenth day after the sentence Now this fell on the very day when the news of Tiberius's death arrived, and in consequence of which the unhappy men implored a reprieve, for mercy's sake, but, as Carus had not yet arrived, and there was no one else to whom application could be made on their behalf, their guards, apprehensive of violating the law, strangled them, and threw them down the Gemonian stairs This loused the people to a still greater abhorrence of the tyrant's memory, since his eruelty continued in use even after he was dead. As soon as his corpse was begun to be moved from Misenum, many cried out for its being carried to Atella, 2 and being half buint there

In the temple of the Palatine Apollo See Augustus, c, xxix

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Atella, a town between Capua and Naples, now called San Arpino, where there was an amphitheatre The people seemed to have raised the shout in derision, referring, perhaps, to the Atellan fables, mentioned in c xiv., and in their fury they proposed that his body should only be grilled, as those of malefactors were, instead of being reduced to ashes

in the amphitheatre. It was, however brought to Rome, and burnt with the usual ceremony

LXXVI. He had made about two years before, duplicates of his will, one written by his own hand, and the other by that of one of his freedmen and both were writnessed by some persons of very mean rank. He appended his two grandsons, Gaius by Germanicus, and Tibornes by Draws, joint hefrix to his estate and upon the death of one of them, the other was to inherit the whole. He gave likewise many legacies amongst which were bequests to the Vestal Virguns, to all the soldiers, and each one of the people of Rome and to the magistrates of the several quarters of the city

At the death of Augustus, there had elapsed so long a period from the overthrow of the republe by Julius Cesar that few were now living who had been born under the ancient constitution of the Romans; and the mild and prosperous administration of Augustus, during forty four years, had by this imme reconciled the minds of the people to a despotal government. Therms, the adopted som of the former avorency was of mature age; and though he had hitherto lived, for the most part, abstracted from any concern with public afflirs, yet, having been brought up in the family of Augustus, he was acquainted with his method of government, which, there was reason to expect, he would render ine model of the own. Living, a woman renerable by years, who had long been familiar with the councils of Augustus, and from her high rank as well as uncommon affability possessed an extensive influence amongst all classes of the poople

Such were the circumstances in favour of Tiberius a succession at the demas of Augustus had often quologisad and agreed a succession at the demas of Augustus had often quologisad for the ungrationness of his manners. He was disobelient to his mother; and though he had not openly discovered any propensity to vice, he enjoyed none of those qualities which usually conclinate popularity. To these considerations it is to be added, that Postumus Agrippe, the grandson of Augustus by Jula, was living and if consengunity was to be the rule of succession, his right was indeputably preferable to that of an adopted son. Augustus had sen this youth into exile a few years before; but, towards the close

of his life, had expressed a design of recalling him, with the view, as was supposed, of appointing him his successor The father of young Agrippa had been greatly beloved by the Romans, and the fate of his mother, Julia, though she was notorious for her profligacy, had ever been regarded by them with peculiar sympathy and tenderness Many, therefore, attached to the son the partiality entertained for his parents, which was increased not only by a strong suspicion, but a general surmise, that his elder brothers, Caius and Lucius, had been violently taken off, to make way for the succession of Tiberius That an obstruction was apprehended to Tiberius's succession from this quarter, is put beyond all doubt, when we find that the death of Augustus was industriously kept secret, until young Agrippa should be removed, who, it is generally agreed, was dispatched by an order from Livia and Tiberius conjointly, or at least from the former Though, by this act, there remained no rival to Tiberius, yet the consciousness of his own want of pretensions to the Roman throne, seems to have still rendered him distrustful of the succession, and that he should have quietly obtained it, without the voice of the people, the real inclination of the senate, or the support of the army, can be imputed only to the influence of his mother, and his own dissimulation Ardently solicitous to attain the object, yet affecting a total indifference, artfully prompting the senate to give him the charge of the government, at the time that he intimated an invincible reluctance to accept it, his absolutely declining it in perpetuity, but fixing no time for an abdication, his deceitful instruction of bodily infirmities, with hints likewise of approaching old age, that he might allay in the senate all apprehensions of any great duration of his power, and repress in his adopted son, Germanicus, the emotions of ambition to displace him, form altogether a scene of the most insidious policy, inconsistency, and dissimulation

In this period died, in the eighty-sixth year of her age, Livia Drusilla, mother of the emperor, and the relict of Augustus, whom she survived fifteen years—She was the daughter of L Drusus Calidianus and married Tiberius Claudius Nero, by whom she had two sons, Tiberius and Drusus—The conduct of this lady seems to justify the remark of Caligula, that "she was an Ulysses in a woman's dress"—Octavius first saw her as she fied from the danger which threatened her husband, who had espoused the cause of Antony, and though she was then pregnant, he resolved to marry her, whether with her own inclination or not, is left by Tacitus undetermined—To pave the way for this union, he divorced his wife Scribonia, and with the approbation of the Augurs, which he could have no difficulty in obtaining, celebrated

he nuptials with Livia. There ensued from this marriage no issue though much desired by both parties; but Lavia retained without interruption, an unbounded ascendancy over the emperor whose confidence she abused while the uxorious husband little suspected that he was cherishing in his bosom a viper who was to prove the destruction of his house. She appears to have en tertained a predominant ambition of giving an heir to the Roman empire; and since it could not be done by any fruit of her mar risge with Augustus, she resolved on accomplishing that end in the person of Tiberius, the eldest son by her former husband The plan which she devised for this purpose was to exterminate all the male offspring of Augustus by his daughter Julia, who was married to Agrippa; a strategem which, when executed, would procure for Tiberms, through the means of adoption, the eventual succession to the empire. The cool yet sangumary policy and the patient persoverance of resolution, with which she prosecuted her design, have soldom been equalled. While the sons of Julia were yet young and while there was still a possibility that she herself might have usue by Augustus she suspended her project, in the hope, perhaps, that accident or diseaso might operate in its favour; but when the natural term of her constitution had put a period to her hopes of progeny and when the grandeons of the emperor were risen to the years of manhood, and had been adopted by him, she began to carry mto execution what she long had meditated. The first object devoted to destruction was C Crear Agrippe, the eldest of Augustus a grandsons. This promising youth was sent to Armenia, upon an expedition against the Persians; and Lolling, who had been his governor either accompanied him thither from Rome or met him in the East, where he had obtained some appointment. From the hand of this traitor perhaps under the pretext of exercising the authority of a preceptor but in reality instigated by Livis, the young prince received a fatal blow of

The manner of Causs stoath seems to have been carefully kept from the knowledge of Augustus, who promoted Lollins to the consulably and made him governor of a province but, by his rapecity in this station, he afterwards incurred the empror's duplessure. The true character of this person had escaped the keen discernment of Horace, as will as the sagacity of the emperor; form two emittee addressed to Lollins, he mentions him as great and accomplished in the ruporlative degree warms Loll biterium folls, so imposing had been the manners and

address of this deceitful courtier

which he died some time after

Lumus, the second son of Julia, was banished into Campania,

for using, as it is said, so litious language against his grandfather. In the seventh year of his exile Augustus proposed to recall him, but Livia and Tiberius, dreading the consequences of his being restored to the emperor's favour, put in practice the expedient of having him immediately assassinated. Postumus Agrippa, the third son, incurred the displeasure of his grandfather in the same way as Lucius, and was confined at Surrentum, where he remained a prisoner until he was put to death by the order either of Livia alone, or in conjunction with Tiberius, as was before observed

Such was the catastrophe, through the means of Livia, of all the grandsons of Augustus, and reason justifies the inference, that she who scrupled not to lay violent hands upon those young men, had formerly practised every artifice that could operate towards rendering them obnoxious to the emperor Wo may even ascribe to her dark intrigues the dissolute conduct of Julia for the woman who could secretly act as procuress to her own husband, would feel little restraint upon her mind against corrupting his daughter, when such an effect might contribute to answor the purpose which she had in view. But in the ingratitude of Tiberius, however undutiful and reprehensible in a son towards a parent, she at last experienced a just retribution for the crimes in which she had trained him to procure the succession to the To the disgrace of her sex, she introduced amongst the Romans the horrible practice of domestic muider, little known before the times when the thirst or intexaction of unlimited power had vitiated the social affections, and she transmitted to succeeding ages a pernicious example, by which immoderate ambition might be gratified, at the expense of every moral obligation, as well as of humanity

One of the first victims in the sanguinary reign of the present emperor, was Germanicus, the son of Drusus, Tiberius's own brother, and who had been adopted by his uncle himself. Under any sovereign, of a temper different from that of Tiberius, this amiable and meritorious prince would have been held in the highest esteem. At the death of his grandfather Augustus, he was employed in a war in Germany, where he greatly distinguished himself by his military achievements, and as soon as intelligence of that event arrived, the soldiers, by whom he was extremely beloved, unanimously saluted him emperor. Refusing, however, to accept this mark of their partiality, he persevered in allegiance to the government of his uncle, and prosecuted the war with success. Upon the conclusion of this expedition, he was sent, with the title of emperor in the East, to repress the seditions of the Armenians, in which he was equally successful. But the

Ame which he acquired, served only to render him an object of jeulousy to Tibernus, by whose order he was secretly poisoned at Daphno, near Antoch, in the thirty fourth year of his age. The news of Germinieus a douth was received at Romo with universal lamentation; and all ranks of the people entertained an opinion that, had he survived Tiberius, he would have restored the freedom of the repailse. The love and gratistics of the Romans decreed many honours to his memory. It was ordered that his name should be rung in a solemn procession of the Salu; that crowns of oak, in allusion to his victories, should be placed upon curule chairs in the hall pertaining to the priests of Augustus; and that an effigy of him in trory abould be drawn upon a charot, preceding the ceremonies of the Circunau games. Trumphial sches were erected, one at Rome, another on the banks of the Rhime and a third upon Mount Amanna in Byrn, with inserrytions of his achievements, and that he doed for his serrices to the

His obseques were celebrated not with the duplay of images and funeral pomp but with the recital of his praises and the virtues which rendered him illustrious From a resemblance in his personal accomplishments, his age, the manner of his death, and the vienity of Daphne to Babylon, many compared his fate to that of Alexander the Great. He was celebrated for humanity and benevolence, as well as unhitary talents, and amidst the toils of war found lessure to cultivate the arts of literary genius. He composed two comedics in Greek, some epigrams and a trans lation of Aratus into Latin verse. He married Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa, by whom he had nine children This lady who had accompanied her husband into the east, carried his ashes to Italy and accused his murderer Piso; who, unable to bear up against the public odium incurred by that transaction laid violent hands upon himself. Agrippins was now nearly in the same predicament with regard to Tiberius, that Ovid had formerly been in respect of Augustus. He was sensible that when sho accused Piso, she was not ignorant of the person by whom the perpetrator of the murder had been instigated; and her presence therefore, seeming continually to represen him with his guilt, he resolved to rid hunself of a person become so obnoxious to his eight, and banished her to the island of Pandataria, where sho died some time afterwards of famine.

But it was not sufficient to gratify this sangumary tyrant, that he had without any cause, cut off both Germanicus and his wife Agruppins: the distinguished merits and popularity of that prince were yet to be rerunged upon his children; and accordingly he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tacit Annal, lib. ii.

set himself to invent a pretext for their destruction After endeavouring in vain, by various artifices, to provoke the resentment of Nero and Drusns against him, he had recourse to false accusation, and not only charged them with seditious designs, to which their tender years were ill adapted, but with vices of a nature the most seandalous By a sentence of the senate, which manifested the extreme servility of that assembly, he procured them both to be declared open enemies to their country banished to the island of Pontia, where, like his unfortunate mother, he miserably perished by famine, and Drusus was doomed to the same fate, in the lower part of the Palatium, after suffering for nine days the violence of hunger, and having, as is related, devoured part of his bed The remaining son, Caius, on account of his vicious disposition, he resolved to appoint his successor on the throne, that, after his own death, a comparison might be made in favour of his memory, when the Romans should be governed by a sovereign yet more vicious and more tyrainical, if

possible, than himself

Sejanus, the minister in the present reign, imitated with success, for some time, the hypoerisy of his master, and, had his ambitious temper, impatient of attaining its object, allowed him to wear the mask for a longer period, he might have gained the imperial diadem, in the pursuit of which he was overtaken by that fate which he merited still more by his eruelties than his This man was a native of Volsinium in perfidy to Tiberius Tuscany, and the son of a Roman knight. He had first insinuated himself into the favour of Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, after whose death he courted the friendship of Tiberius, and obtained in a short time his entire confidence, which he improved to the best advantage. The object which he next pursued, was to gain the attachment of the senate, and the officers of the army, besides whom, with a new kind of policy, he endeavoured to secure in his interest every lady of distinguished connections, by giving secretly to each of them a promise of marriage, as soon as he should arrive at the sovereignty chief obstacles in his way were the sons and grandsons of Tiberius, and these he soon sacrificed to his ambition, under various Drusus, the eldest of this progeny, having in a fit of passion struck the favourite, was destined by him to destruction For this purpose, he had the presumption to seduce Livia, the wife of Diusus, to whom she had borne several children, and she consented to marry her adulterer upon the death of her husband, who was soon after poisoned, through the means of an eunuch named Lygdus, by order of her and Scianus

Drusus was the son of Tiberius by Vipsania, one of Agrippa

daughters. He displayed groat intreplidity during the war in the provinces of Illyricum and Pannonia, but appears to have been dusolute in his morals. Horace is said to have written the Ode in praise of Drums at the decire of Augustus; and while the poet celebrates the military courage of the prince, he insun ates indirectly a saintary admonition to the cultivation of the civil prities;

Doctrina sed vim promovat insitam, Rectique cultus pectors roborant Utcasque defecera mores, Dedecursat bese nata culpus!—Ode iv 4.

Yet sage instructions to refine the soul
And raise the genius, wondrous aid impart,
Conveying feward, as they percely roll,
Strength to the rolled and vigour to the heart
When mornals ful, the status of vice disprace
The fairest homoure of the problem rock—Francis

Upon the death of Drusus, Sejanus openly avowed a desire of marrying the widowed princess; but Tiberus opposing this measure, and at the same time recommending Germanicus to the senate as his successor in the empire, the mind of Sejanus was more than ever inflamed by the united, and now furious, Distions of love and ambition. He therefore urged his demand with m creased importantly but the emperor still refusing his consent, and things being not yet ripe for an immediate revolt, Sejanus thought nothing so favourable for the prosecution of his designs as the absence of Tiberrus from the capital. With this view under the pretence of relieving his master from the cares of government, he persuaded him to retire to a distance from Rome. The emperor indolent and luxurious, approved of the proposal, and retired into Compania, leaving to his ambitious minister the whole direction of the empire. Had Sejanus now been governed by common prudence and moderation, he might have attained to the accomplishment of all his wishes; but a natural impetuosity of temper and the intoxication of power precipitated him into measures which soon effected his destruction. As if entirely emanerpated from the control of a master he publicly declared himself sovereign of the Roman empire, and that Tiberrus, who had by this time retired to Capri, was only the dependent prince of that tributary usland. He even went so far in degrading the emperor as to have him introduced in a ridiculous light upon the stage Advice of Sejanus a proceedings was soon carried to the emperor at Capra his indignation was immediately excited; and with a confidence founded upon an authority exercised for several years, he sent orders for accusing Scianus before the senate This mandate no sooner arrived, than the audacious minister was deserted by his adherents, he was in a short time after seized without resistance, and strangled in prison

the same day

Human nature recoils with horror at the cruelties of this execrable tyrant, who, having first imbrued his hands in the blood of his own relations, proceeded to exercise them upon the public with indiscriminate fury Neither age nor sex afforded any exemption from his insatiable thirst for blood Innocent children were condemned to death, and butchered in the presence of their parents, virgins, without any imputed guilt, were sacrificed to a similar destiny, but there being an ancient custom of not strangling temales in that situation, they were first deflowered by the executioner, and afterwards strangled, as if an atrocious addition to cruelty could sanction the exercise of it Fathers were constrained by violence to witness the death of their own children, and even the tears of a mother, at the execution of her child, were punished as a capital offence Some extraordinary calamities, occasioned by accident, added to the horrors of the reign A great number of houses on Mount Colius were destroyed by fire, and by the fall of a temporary building at Fidenæ, erceted for the purpose of exhibiting public shows, about twenty thousand persons were either greatly hurt, or crushed to death in the runs

By another fire which afterwards broke out, a part of the Circus was destroyed, with the numerous buildings on Mount Aventine The only act of munificence displayed by Tiberius during his reign, was upon the occasion of those fires, when, to qualify the severity of his government, he indemnified the most

considerable sufferers for the loss they had sustained

Through the whole of his life, Tiberius seems to have conducted himself with a uniform repugnance to nature. Affable on a few occasions, but in general averse to society, he indulged, from his earliest years, a moroseness of disposition, which counterfeited the appearance of austere virtue, and in the decline of life, when it is common to reform from juvenile indiscretions, he launched forth into excesses, of a kind the most unnatural and most detestable. Considering the vicious passions which had ever brooded in his heart, it may seem surprising that he restrained himself within the bounds of decency during so many years after his accession, but though utterly destitute of reverence or affection for his mother, he still felt, during her life, a filial awe upon his mind and after her death, he was actuated by a slavish fear of Sejanus, until at last political necessity absolved him likewise from this restraint. These checks being both re-

24, TIBERIUS.

moved, he rioted without any control, either from sentiment or

authonity

Plmy relates, that the art of making glass malleable was notually discovered under the reign of Tiberius, and that the shop and tools of the artist were destroyed, lest, by the establishment of this invention, gold and silver should lose their value adds, that the anthor of the discovery was put to death.

The gloom which darkened the Roman expital during this melancholy period shed a beleful influence on the progress of science throughout the empire and literature languished during the present reign, in the same proportion as it had flourished in the preceding It is doubtful whether such a change might not have happened in some degree even had the government of Tiberius been equally mild with that of his predecessor prodigious fame of the writers of the Augustan age by repressing emulation tended to a general diminution of the efforts of genius for some time; while the beaushment of Ovid, it is probable and the capital punishment of a subsequent poet, for censuring the character of Agamemnon, operated towards the farther discouragement of poetical exertions. There now existed no cir cumstance to counterbalance these disadvantages. Genius no longer found a patron either in the emperor or his minister; and the rates of the palace were shut arguest all who cultivated the elegant pursuits of the Muses Panders, estamites, assassins, wretches stained with every crime were the constant attendants, as the only fit companions, of the tyrant who now occupied the throne. We are informed however that even this emperor had a taste for the liberal arts, and that he composed a lyric poem upon the death of Lucius Cesar with some Greek poems in imitation of Euphorica, Rhianus, and Parthenius. But none of these has been transmitted to posterity; and if we should form an opinion of them upon the principle of Catalina, that to be a good poet one ought to be a good man, there is little reason to regret that they have perished.

We meet with no poetical production in this reign; and of prose writers the number is inconsiderable as will appear from the following account of them.—

VELLEUE PAYEROULUS was born of an equestrian family in Compania, and served as a military tribune under Tiberrus, in his expeditions in Gaul and Germany He composed an Epitome of the History of Greece and Rome, with that of other nations of remote antiquity : but of this work there only remain frag ments of the history of Greece and Rome, from the conquest of Persons to the seventeenth year of the reign of Tiberius. It is written m two books, addressed to Murcus Vinierus who he i the office of consul Rapid in the narrative, and concise as well as elegant in style, this production exhibits a pleasing epitonie of ancient transactions, enlivened occasionally with ancedotes, and an expressive description of characters. In treating of the family of Augustus, Paterculus is justly liable to the imputation of partiality, which he meurs still more in the latter period of his history, by the praise which is lavished on Tiberius and his minister Sejanus He intimates a design of giving a more full account of the civil war which followed the death of Julius Casar, but this, if he ever accomplished it, has not been transmitted to posterity Candid, but decided in his judgment of motives and actions, if we except his invectives against Pompcy, he shows little propensity to censure, but in awarding praise, he is not equally parsimonious, and, on some occasions, risks the imputa-tion of hyperbole The grace, however, and the apparent sincerity with which it is bestowed, reconcile us to the compliment. This author concludes his history with a prayer for the prosperity

of the Roman empire ----

VALERIUS MAXIMUS was descended of a Patrician family, but we learn nothing more concerning him, than that for some time he followed a military life under Sextus Pompey He afterwards betook himself to writing, and has left an account, in nine books, of the memorable apophthegms and actions of eminent persons, first of the Romans, and afterwards of foreign nations subjects are of various kinds, political, moral, and natural ranged into distinct classes His transitions from one subject to another are often performed with gracefulness, and where he offers any remarks, they generally show the author to be a man of judgment and observation Valerius Maximus is chargeable with no affectation of style, but is sometimes deficient in that purity of language which might be expected in the age of Tiberius, to whom the work is addressed What inducement the author had to this dedication, we know not, but as it is evident from a passage in the ninth book, that the compliment was paid after the death of Scianus, and consequently in the most shameful period of Tiberius's reign, we cannot entertain any high opinion of the independent spirit of Valerius Maximus, who could submit to flatter a tyrant, in the zenith of infamy and detestation But we cannot ascribe the cause to any delicate artifice, of conveying to Tiberius, indirectly, an admonition to reform his conduct Such an expedient would have only provoked the severest resentment from his jealousy -

PHEDRUS was a native of Thrace, and was brought to Rome as a slave He had the good fortune to come into the service of Augustus, where, improving his talents by reading, he obtained

the favour of the emperor and was made one of his freedmen. In the rogm of Thornus he translated into Lamila verse the Fables of Asop. They are diruded into Inter occass and are not leas computeous for precision and simplicity of thought, than for purity and elegance of situes converging moral sentiments with unaffected case and impressive energy. Prindrus understent for some time a persecution from Scianus who, considents of his own delinquency suspected that he was obliquely satirized in the commendations bestored on ritrot by the poet. The work of Phadrus is one of the latest which have been brought to light since the rotrial of learning. It reasoned in obscurity until two hundred years ago, when it was discovered in a library at Ribeins.

Hydraum is said to have been a nature of Alexandras, or according to others a Spaniard. He was like Phedrum a freed man of Anguatus; but, though industrious he seems not to have improved himself so much as his companiou in the art of composition. He wrote, however a nythological history under the fille of Fables, a work called Politica Astronomica, with a treatise on agriculture, commontaries on Virgil, the lives of comment men and some other productions now lost. His remaining works are much multilated, and if genuine allord an unfavourable specimen of his olegance and correctness as a

Reiter ---

CELEUS was a physician in the time of Tiberius, and has written eight books. De Medicina, in which he has collected and directed into order all that is valuable on the subject in the Greek and Roman anthors. The professors of Medicine were at that time divided into three sects, viz., the Dogmatists Empiries, and Methodusts; the first of whom deviated less than the others from the plan of Hippocrates; but they were in general irreconcilable to each other in respect both of their opinions and practice. Celsus, with great judgment, has occasionally adopted particular doctrines from each of them; and whatever he admits into his system, he not only establishes by the most rational observations, but confirms by its practical utility. In justness of remark, in force of argument, in precision and perspiculty as well as in elegance of expression, he deservedly occupies the most distinguished rank amongst the medical writers of antiquity It appears that Celsus likewise wrote on agriculture rhetoric and military affairs; but of those several treatuses no fragments now remain

To the writers of this reign we must add Arious Cornus who has left a Book De Re Cognizaria [of Cookery]. There were three Romans of the name of Aricius, all remarkable for their

gluttony—The first lived in the time of the Republic, the last in that of Trajan, and the intermediate Apicius under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius—This man, as Senera informs us, wasted on luxurious living, recenties sester tium, a sum equal to £151,375 sterling—Upon examining the state of his affairs he found that there remained no more of his estate than century sixterlium, £80,729 3s 4d, which seeming to him too small to live upon, he ended his days by poison

## CAIUS CÆSAR CALIGULA.

- I. Genuarious, the father of Cains Comer and son of Drums and the younger Antonia, was, after his adoption by Tiberius, his uncle, proferred to the quastorship five years before he had attained the legal age, and immediately upon the expir ation of that office, to the consulship a Having been sent to the army in Germany he restored order among the legions, who, npon the news of Augustus a death, eletinately retused to acknowledge Tiberius as omperor and offered to place him at the head of the state In which affair it is difficult to say whether his regard to filed duty or the firmness of his resolution, was most conspicuous. Soon afterwards he defeated the enemy and obtained the honours of a triumph. Being then made consul for the second time, before he could entir upon his office he was obliged to set out suddenly for the cost. where, after he had conquered the king of Armenia, and reduced Cappadous into the form of a province he died at Antroch of a linguing distemper in the thirty fourth year of his age, not without the surpreion of being poisoned. For besides the livid spots which appeared all over his body and a foaming at the mouth when his corpse was burnt, the heart was found entire among the bones, its nature being such, as it is supposed, that when tainted by poison it is indestructible by fire.
  - II. It was a prevailing opinion, that he was taken off by the contrivance of Tiberius, and through the means of Cheusa Paso This person, who was about the same time prefect of Syria, and made no secret of his position being such, that

<sup>1</sup> A.U.C. 757 A.U.C. 765. 2 A.U.C. 770.

This opinion like some others which occur in Suctionius, may justly be considered as a valgar error; and if the beart was found catte, it areast have been owing to the weakness of the fire, rather than to any quality communicated to the organ, of resisting the power of that element.

he must either offend the father or the son, loaded Germanicus, even during his sickness, with the most unbounded and seurrilous abuse, both by word and deed, for which, upon his return to Rome, he narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the people, and was condemned to death by the senate

III It is generally agreed, that Germanicus possessed all the noblest endowments of body and mind in a higher degree than had ever before fallen to the lot of any man, a handsome person, extraordinary courage, great proficiency in eloquence and other branches of learning, both Greek and Roman, besides a singular humanity, and a behaviour so engaging, as to captivate the affections of all about him The slenderness of his legs did not correspond with the symmetry and beauty of his person in other respects, but this defect was at length corrected by his habit of riding after meals. In battle, he often engaged and slew an enemy in single combat He pleaded causes, even after he had the honour of a triumph Among other fruits of his studies, he left behind him some Greek comedies Both at home and abroad he always conducted himself in a manner the most unassuming On entering any free and confederate town, he never would be attended by his lictors Whenever he heard, in his travels, of the tombs of illustrious men, he made offerings over them to the He gave a common grave, under a mound of infernal deities earth, to the scattered relics of the legionaires slain under Varus, and was the first to put his hand to the work of collecting and bringing them to the place of burial He was so extremely mild and gentle to his enemies, whoever they were, or on what account soever they bore him enmity, that, although Piso rescinded his decrees, and for a long time severely harassed his dependents, he never showed the smallest resentment, until he found himself attacked by magical charms and imprecations, and even then the only steps he took was to renounce all friendship with him, according to ancient custom, and to exhort his servants to avenge his death, if any thing untoward should befal him

IV He reaped the fruit of his noble qualities in abundance, being so much esteemed and beloved by his friends, that Augustus (to say nothing of his other relations) being a long

time m doubt, whether he should not appoint him his successor at last ordered Tiberius to adopt him. He was so extremely popular that many suthers tell us, the crowds of those who went to meet him upon his coming to any place, or to attend him at his departure, were so prodigious, that he was sometimes in danger of his life and that upon his return from Geronapy after he had quelled the mutiny in the army there all the cohorts of the pretorian guards marched out to meet him notwithstanding the order that only two should go and that all the people of Rome, both men and women of every ago, sax and rank, flocked as far as the twentieth milestone to attend his entrance.

V At the time of his douth however and afterwards, they displayed still greater and stronger proofs of their extraordinary attachment to him. The day on which he dood stones were thrown at the temples, the altars of the gods demolished the household gods, in some cases, thrown into the streets, and new born infants exposed. It is even said that barbarous nations, both those engaged in intestine wars, and those in hostilities against us, all agreed to a cosection of arms, as if they had been mourning for some very near and common friend that some petty kings shared their bearis and their wives heads, in token of their extremo serrow and that the king of kings i forbore his exercise of hunting and feasing with his nobles, which amongst the Parthanas, is equivalent to a cosention of all husness in a time of public mourning with our constitutions.

VI. At Rome, upon the first news of his sudmess, the city was thrown into great constornation and grief waiting impatiently for farther intalligence—when suddenly in the evening, a report, without any certain author was spread, that he was recovered upon which the people flocked with torches

The magnificent title of Ki g of Kiers has been assumen, at different times, by various potentates. The person to whom it is here applied, is the kieg of Parthia. Under the ki gs of Persia, and even under the Syro-Macodonian Magn, this country was of no consideration and reck oned a part of Hyrensia. But pon the revoit of the East from the Stro-Macodonian, at the intigation of Arazces, the Parthism are said to have conquered eighteen kingdoms. and victims to the Capitol, and were in such laste to pay the vows they had made for his accovery, that they almost broke open the doors. Tiberius was roused from out of his sleep with the noise of the people congratulating one another, and singing about the streets,

Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus est Germanicus, Rome is safe, our country safe, for our Germanicus is safe

But when certain intelligence of his death arrived, the mourning of the people could neither be assuaged by consolation, nor restrained by edicts, and it continued during the holidays in the month of December The atrocities of the subsequent times contributed much to the glory of Germanicus, and the endearment of his memory, all people supposing, and with reason, that the fear and awe of him had laid a restraint upon the cruelty of Tiberius, which broke out soon afterwards

VII Germanicus married Agrippina, the daughter of Marcus Agrippa and Julia, by whom he had nine children, two of whom died in their infancy, and another a few years after, a sprightly boy, whose effigy, in the character of a Cupid, Livia set up in the temple of Venus in the Capitol Augustus also placed another statue of him in his bed chamber, and used to kiss it as often as he entered the apartment. The rest survived their father, three daughters, Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla, who were born in three successive years, and as many sons, Nero, Drusus, and Carus Cæsar Nero and Drusus, at the accusation of Tiberius, were declared public enemies

VIII Caius Cæsar was born on the day before the caicnds [31st August] of September, at the time his father and Caius Fonteius Capito were consuls! But where he was born, is rendered uncertain from the number of places which are said to have given him birth. Cheius Lentulus Gætulicus² says that he was born at Tibur, Pliny the younger, in the country of the Tieviri, at a village called Ambiatinus, above Confluentes, and he alleges, as a proof of it, that altars are

3 Supra Confluentes; The German tribe here mentioned occupied the

<sup>3</sup> AUC 765

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It does not appear that Gætulicus wrote any historical work, but Martial, Pliny, and others, describe him as a respectable poet

there shown with this inscription For Agrippina's child birth. Some verses which were published in his regnintum ato that he was born in the winter quarters of the lections.

In castris natus, patrills sutrities is arenis, Jum designati principles coses arts. Bors in the camp, and train d in every toil Which taught his sire the hangbilest fees to foil Deaths d he seem d by fate to raise his same And rule the empire with Augustan fance.

I find in the public registers that he was born at Antum. Pluny charges Gotulions as guilty of an arrant forgery merely to soothe the vanity of a conceited young prince, by giving him the lastre of being born in a city sacred to Hercules and says that he advanced this false assertion with the more assurance because, the year before the parth of Caius, Germanieus had a son of the same name born at Tibur concerning whose amuble childhood and premature death I have already spoken. Dates clearly prove that Plany is mistaken; for the writers of Augustus s history all agree, that Germanious, at the expiration of his con sulship was sent into Gaul, after the birth of Cains. Nor will the inscription upon the alter serve to establish Pliny's opinion because Agrippins was delivered of two daughture in that country and any child buth, without regard to sex, is called purpersum, as the ancients were used to call girls paste, and bors wells. There is also extent a letter written by Augustus, a few months before his death, to his granddaughter Agrippina, about the same Onina for there was then no other child of hers living under that name). He writes as follows:

I gave orders yesterday for Talanus and Asolius to sot out on their journey towards you if the gods permit, with your child Caius, upon the fifteenth of the calcule of June [18th May] I also send with him a physician of mine, and I wrote to Germanicus that he may rotain him if he pieces. Ferrowell, my dear Agrappins, and take what care you can to

country between the Rhine and the Heure, and gave their same to Treves (Trevia) its chief form. Collemts had its secient name of Configurates, from its standing at the junction of the two rivers. The exact sits of the village is which Celliquia was horn is not known. Coverus conjectures that it may be Capacia.

1 Ohep. vil.

come safe and well to your Germanicus" I imagine it is suffic ently evident that Caius could not be born at a place to which he was carried from The City when almost two years old. The same considerations must likewise invalidate the evidence of the verses, and the rather, because the author is unknown. The only authority, therefore, upon which we can depend in this matter, is that of the acts, and the public register, especially as he always preferred Antium to every other place of retirement, and entertained for it all that fondness which is commonly attached to one's native soil. It is said, too, that, upon his growing weary of the city, he designed to have transferred thither the seat of empire

IX It was to the jokes of the soldiers in the camp that he wed the name of Caligula, he having been brought up among them in the diess of a common soldier. How much his education amongst them recommended him to their favour and affection, was sufficiently apparent in the mutiny upon the death of Augustus, when the mere sight of him appeared their fury, though it had risen to a great height. For they persisted in it, until they observed that he was sent away to a neighbouring city, to secure him against all danger. Then, at last, they began to relent, and, stopping the chariot in which he was conveyed, earnestly deprecated the odium to which such a proceeding would expose them

X He likewise attended his father in his expedition to Syria. After his return, he lived first with his mother, and, when she was banished, with his great-grandmother, Livia Augusta, in praise of whom, after her decease, though then only a boy, he pronounced a funeral oration in the Rostra. He was then transferred to the family of his grandmother, Antonia, and afterwards, in the twentieth year of his age, being called by Tiberius to Capri, he in one and the same day assumed the manly habit, and shaved his beard, but without receiving any of the honours which had been paid to his brothers on a similar

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The name was derived from Caliga, a kind of boot, studded with nails, used by the common soldiers in the Roman army

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to lacitus, who gives an interesting account of these occurrences, Treves was the place of refuge to which the young Caius was conveyed —Annal 1

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eccasion. While he romained in that island, many insidious artifices were practized, to extort from him complaints against Tibernas, but hy his circumspection he avoided falling into the mare. He affected to take no more notice of the ill treat ment of his relations, than if nothing had befallen them. With regard to his own sufferings, he seemed utterly insensible of them, and behaved with such obsequiousness to his grandfather, and all about him, that it was justly said of him. There never was a better extrain nor a worse master.

XI. But he could not even then conceal his natural disposition to cruelly and lewdocss. He delighted in witnessing the infliction of punishments, and frequenced taversa and bewdy houses in the night-time, disquised in a periwig and a long coat and was passionately addicted to the theatriest arts of singing and dameng. All these levities Therms readily connired at, in hopes that they might perhaps correct the rough ness of his temper which the suggestions old man so well under stood, that he often said. That Causs was destined to be the roun of himself and all tankind and that he was recurge a hydrer for the people of Rome, and a Phacton for all the warld.

XII. Not long afterwards, he married Junia (Baudilla, the daughter of Marcus Bilants, a man of the highest rank. Being then chosen augur in the room of his brother Drusus, before he could be inaugurated he was advanced to the positificate, with no small commendation of this dufful behaviour and greet capacity. The attuation of the court likewise was at this time favourable to his fortunes, as it was now left dustitute of support, Bejanus being suspected, and soon afterwards taken off and he was by degrees flattered with the hope of succeeding Tiberius in the empire. In order more offectually to secure this object, upon Junes a dying in child bod, he engaged in a cumuland commerce with Ennis Mersin, the wife

As Phaston is said to have set the world on fire.

In c. Ilv of Timearus we have seen that his brothers Drustes and Nero fell a sacrifice to these artifices.

Therius, who was the adopted father of Germs lens.

A natricess a water-nasks, so called from nate to swim. The allerties is probably to Callgula a being reared is the island of Capri.

of Maero, at that time prefect of the pretorian cohorts, promising to marry her if he became emperor, to which he bound himself, not only by an oath, but by a written obligation undor his hand Having by her means insinuated himself into Macro's favour, some are of opinion that he attempted to poison Tiberius, and ordered his ring to be taken from him, before the breath was out of his body, and that, because he seemed to hold it fast, he caused a pillow to be thrown upon him, squeezing him by the throat, at the same time, with his own hand One of his freedmen crying out at this horrid barbarity, he was immediately crucified These circumstances are far from being improbable, as some authors relate that. afterwards, though ho did not acknowledge his having a hand in the death of Tiberius, yet he frankly declared that he had formerly entertained such a design, and as a proof of his affection for his relations, he would frequently boast, "That, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he had entered the chamber of Tiberius, when he was asleep, with a poniard, but being seized with a fit of compassion, threw it away, and retired, and that Tiberius, though aware of his intention, durst not make any inquiries, or attempt revenge"

XIII Having thus secured the imperial power, he fulfilled by his clovation the wish of the Roman people, I may venture to say, of all mankind, for he had long been the object of expectation and desire to the greater part of the provincials and soldiors, who had known him when a child, and to the whole people of Rome, from their affection for the memory of Germanicus, his father, and compassion for the family almost entirely destroyed Upon his moving from Misenum, therefore, although he was in mourning, and following the corpse of Tiberius, ho had to walk amidst alters, victims, and lighted torches, with prodigious crowds of people everywhere attending him, in transports of joy, and calling him, besides other auspicious names, by those of "their star," "their chick," "their pretty puppet," and "bantling"

XIV Immediately on his ontering the city, by the joint acclamations of the schate, and people, who broke into the senate-house, Tiberius's will was set aside, it having left his

<sup>1</sup> See the Life of Tiberius, c lxxii

other grandson, then a minor cohefr with him the whole government and administration of affairs was placed in his hands so much to the joy and satisfaction of the public, that, in less than three menths after above a hundred and axity thousand victims are said to have been offered in scenfler Upon his going a few days afterwards, to the nearest islands on the coast of Caupenin, 'vow were made for his safe return every person continually testifying their cure and concorn for his safety. And when he fold lift the people hung about the Plaitium all night long; some vowed, in public handbills, to risk their hree in the combats of the amphitheatre, and others to lay them down for his recovery. To this extraordinary love entertained for him by his countrymen, was added an immoment orgard by foreign nations. Even Artabams, king of the Parthana, who had always manifested hatred and con tempt for Tiberius, solicated his hrendship; came to hold a on farence with his consular livutanati, and passing the Euphrates, paid the highest homours to the eagles, the Roman standards, and the lineages of the Course.'

XV Caligula himself inflamed this devotor, by practining all the arts of popularity. After he had delivered, with floods of tours, a speech in praise of Tibernes, and burned him with the utmost pomp, he immediately hastened over to Pandatarin and the Pendan uslands, to bring thence the salves of his mother and brother; and to testify the great regard he had for their memory he performed the royage in a vary temperatous scener. He approached their remains with profound veneration, and deposited them in the urns with his own hands. Having brought them in grand solemnity to Ostas, with an ensign flying in the starm of the galley and thence up the Tiber to Rome, they were beare by persons of the first distinction in the questrian order on two biers, into the manuscleun.

His name also was Tiberius. See before, Transpura, c. luxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Procida, Ischia, Capri, &c.

The earle was the standard of the legion, each cohort of which had its own ensign, with different devices; and there were also little images of the emperors, to which divise horsours was paid.

<sup>4</sup> See before, ce. Ifil. liv

Bee Transitive, c. x., and note.

The measurem built by Augustus, mentioned before in his Life, en a

at noon-day. He appointed yearly offerings to be solemnly and publicly celebrated to their memory, besides Circensian games to that of his mother, and a chariot with her image to be included in the procession 1 The month of September he called Germanicus, in honour of his father By a single decree of the senate, he heaped upon his grandmother, Antonia, all the honours which had been ever conferred on the empress Livia. His uncle, Claudius, who till then continued in the equestrian order, he took for his colleague in the consulship He adopted his brother, Tiberius,2 on the day he took upon him the manly habit, and conferred upon him the title of "Prince of the Youths" As for his sisters, he ordered these words to be added to the oaths of allegiance to himself "Nor will I hold myself or my own children more dear than I do Caius and his sisters "3 and commanded all resolutions proposed by the consuls in the senate to be prefaced thus. "May what we are going to do, prove fortunate and happy to Caius Cæsar and his sisters" With the like popularity he restored all those who had been condemned and banished, and granted an act of indemnity against all impeachments and past offences To relieve the informers and witnesses against his mother and brothers from all apprehension, he brought the records of their trials into the forum, and there burnt them, calling loudly on the gods to witness that he had not read or handled them morial which was offered him relative to his own security, he would not receive, declaring, "that he had done nothing to make any one his enemy "and said, at the same time, "he had no ears for informers"

XVI The Spintriæ, those panderers to unnatural lusts,4 he banished from the city, being prevailed upon not to throw them

The Carpentum was a carriage, commonly with two wheels, and an arched covering, but sometimes without a covering, used chiefly by matrons, and named, according to Ovid, from Carmenta, the mother of Evander Women were prohibited the use of it in the second Punic war, by the Oppian law, which, however, was soon after repealed. This chariot was also used to convey the images of the illustrious women to whom divine honours were paid, in solemn processions after their death, as in the present instance. It is represented on some of the sesterting

<sup>2</sup> See cc xiv and xxiu. of the present History.

<sup>Ib cc vii and xxiv
Life of Tiberius, c xhii.</sup> 

mto the eca, as he had intended. The writings of Titus La bienus, Cordus Cremutius and Cassins Severus, which had been suppressed by an act of the senate, he permitted to be drawn from obscurity and universally read obscrying. it would be for his own advantage to have the transactions of former times delivered to posterity He published accounts of the proceedings of the government—a practice which had been introduced by Augustus, but discontinued by Tiberius.1 He granted the magnetrates a full and free jurisdiction, with out any appeal to himself He made a very strict and exact review of the Roman knights, but conducted it with modern tion publicly depriving of his horse every knight who lay under the stigms of any thing base and dishenourable but passing over the names of those knights who were only guilty of venial faults, in calling over the list of the order. To lighten the labours of the judges, he added a fifth class to the former He attempted likewise to restore to the people their ancient right of voting in the choice of magnetrates." He paid very honourably and without any dispute the legacies left by Tiberius in his will though it had been set ande as likewise those left by the will of Livis Augusta, which Tiberius had annulled. He remitted the bundredth penny due to the government in all auctions throughout Italy He made up to many their losses sustained by fire and when he restored their kingdoms to any princes, he likewise allowed them all the arrows of the taxes and revenues which had accrued in the interval as in the case of Antiochus of Comagene, where the conflacation would have amounted to a hundred millions of sesterces. To prove to the world that he was ready to encourage good examples of every kind, he gave to a freed woman eighty thousand sesterces, for not discovering a crime committed by her patron, though she had been put to exquisite torture for that purpose. For all these nots of beneficence amongst other honours, a golden shield was decreed to him, which the col leges of pracets were to corry annually upon a fixed day into the Capitol, with the senate attending, and the youth of the nobility of both sexes, celebrating the praise of his virtues in

I See the Life of Augustus ec. xxvill, and cl.

Julius Cesar had shared it with them (c. xll.) Augustus had only kept up the form (c. xl.) Therius deprived the Roman people of the last romains of the freed on af sufficer.

songs It was likewise ordained, that the day on which he succeeded to the empire should be called Palilia, in token of the city's being at that time, as it were, new founded 1

XVII He held the consulship four times, the first, from the calends [the first] of July for two months the second, from the calends of January for thirty days, the third, until the ides [the 13th] of January, and the fourth, until the seventh of the same ides [7th January] Of these, the two last he held successively The third he assumed by his sole authority at Lyons, not, as some are of opinion, from arrogance or neglect of rules, but because, at that distance, it was impossible for him to know that his colleague had died a little before the beginning of the new year. He twice distributed to the people a bounty of three hundred sesterces a man, and as often gave a splendid feast to the senate and the equestrian order, with their wives and children. In the latter, he presented to the men forensic garments, and to the women and children purple scarfs. To make a perpetual addition to the public joy for ever, he added to the Saturnalia one day, which he called Juvenalis [the juvenile feast]

XVIII He exhibited some combats of gladiators, either in the amphitheatre of Taurus, or in the Septa, with which he intermingled troops of the best puglists from Campania and Africa He did not always preside in person upon those occasions, but sometimes gave a commission to magistrates or friends to supply his place. He frequently entertained the people with stage-plays

See Augustus, cc xxix and xlin The amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus is supposed to have stood in the Campus Martius, and the elevation now

called the Monte Citorio, to have been formed by its ruins

¹ The city of Rome was founded on the twenty-first day of April, which was called *Pallia*, from Pales, the goddess of shepherds, and ever afterwards kept as a festival

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> AUC 790 <sup>3</sup> AUC 791 <sup>4</sup> AUC 793 <sup>5</sup> AUC 794 <sup>6</sup> The Saturnalia, held in honour of Saturn, was, amongst the Romans, the most celebrated festival of the whole year, and held in the month of December All orders of the people then devoted themselves to mirth and feasting, friends sent presents to one another, and masters treated their slaves upon a footing of equality At first it was held only for one day, afterwards for three days, and was now prolonged by Caligula's orders

of various kinds, and in several parts of the city and sometimes by night, when he caused the whole city to be lighted. He likewise gave various things to be scrambled for among the people and distributed to every man a basket of bread with other victuals. Upon this occasion he sent his own share to a Roman knight, who was scated opposite to him, and was en joying himself by cating heartily. To a senator who was doing the same he sent an appointment of puntor-extraordi nary He likewise exhibited a great number of Circensian games from morning until night intermixed with the hunting of wild beasts from Africa, or the Trojan exhibition. Some of these games were celebrated with peculiar circumstances the Circus being overspread with vermilion and chrysolito and none drove in the chariet races who were not of the sena torian order For some of these he suddenly gave the agend, when, upon his viewing from the Geletians the preparations in the Circus, he was asked to do so by a few persons in the neighbouring callenes.

XIX. He avented besides a new kind of spectacle, such as had never been heard of before. For he made a bridge of about three miles and a half in length from Base to the mole of Futechi, collecting trading vessels from all quarters, mooring them in two rows by their anchors, and spreading earth upon them to form a viaduct, after the fashion of the Appan way.\* This bridge he crossed and recrossed for two days together the first day mounted on a horse richly capanismed, wearing on his head a crown of oak leaves, armed with a buttle-sex a Spanish buckler and a sword, and in a clock made of cloth of gold the day following, in the habit of a character standing in a chance, drawn by two high bred horse, having with him a young boy Darnus by name, one of the Parthlan hostages, with a colorat of the pretorian guards attending him and a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Supposed to be a house, so called, adjoining the Circus, is which some of the emperor's attendants resided.

A Now Parmoli, on the shore of the bay of Naples. Every one knows what wealth was lavished here and at Balze, on public works and the marker vilks of the luxurious Romans, in the times of the emperors.

The original terminus of the Applan way was at Brundesium. This mole formed what we should call a nearer station to Rome, on the same need, the ruins of which are still to be seen. St. Paul landed there

prayed for his death, he sent orders round the islands' to have them all put to death Being very desirous to have a senate: torn to pieces, he employed some persons to call him a public enemy, fall upon him as he entered the senate-house, stab him with their styles, and deliver him to the rest to tear asunder Nor was he satisfied, until he saw the limbs and bowels of the man, after they had been dragged through the streets, piled up in a heap before him

XXIX He aggravated his barbarous actions by language equally outrageous "There is nothing in my nature," and he, "that I commend or approve so much, as my adia-fivia (inflexible rigour)" Upon his grandmother Antonia's giving him some advice, as if it was a small matter to pay no regard to it, he said to her, "Remember that all things are lawful for me" When about to murder his brother, whom he suspected of taking antidotes against poison, he said, "See then an antidote against Cæsar " And when he banished his sisters, he told them in a menacing tone, that he had not only islands at command, but likewise swords. One of pretorian rank having sent several times from Anticyra, whither he had gone for his health, to have his leave of absence prolonged, he ordered him to be put to death, adding these world "Bleeding is necessary for one that has taken hellebore to long, and found no benefit." It was his custom every tanth day to sign the lists of prisoners appointed for execution, and this he called "clearing his accounts" And having con demned several Gauls and Greeks at one time, he exclaimed in triumph, "I have conquered Gallogrecia."

XXX He generally prolonged the sufferings of his victime by causing them to be inflicted by slight and frequertly re peated strokes, this being his well-known and constint only

<sup>1</sup> The islands off the coast of Italy, in the Tuscan sea and in the ar chipelago, were the usual places of banishment See leftre, e se; 3.1

<sup>2</sup> Anticyra, an island in the Archipelago, was farmons for the grant hellebore. This plant being considered a remedy for initial 1, 150 FT verb arose—Naviga in Anticyram, as much as to say, "Tue are call 3 Meaning the province in Asia, called Galatia from the (s) removed it and occumed it jointly with the Greek co'on i's

of Pompey! He began, likewise the aqueduct from the neighbourhood of Tibur, and an amphithenier near the Septa of which works, one was completed by his successor Claudius and the other remained as he left it. The walls of Syracuse which had fallen to decay by length of time he repaired as he likewise did the temples of the gods. He formed plans for rebuilding the palace of Polyerates at Somes, finishing the temple of the Didymonan Apollo at Miletins, and building a town on a ridge of the Alps; but, above all for cutting through the isthmus in Achaia and even sent a centurion of the first rank to measure out the work.

XXII. Thus far we have spoken of him as a prince What remains to be said of him, bespeaks him rather a monster than a man. He assumed a variety of titles, such as Dutiful, The

1 Sec Transatus, c. xivil. and Augustus, c. xxxi.

<sup>8</sup> This tapeatort, commenced by Caligrals and completed by Claudian, a truly imperal towic, converged the waters of two streams to Rome, following the railey of the anio from above Itvall. The course of one of these titules was forty miles, and it was carried on arches, inneediately after quitting its course for a distance of three miles. The other the Arke News also began on arches, which envisioned for sprawfu of twelve miles. After this, both were converged under ground; but at the listance of its miles from the city they were united, and carried upon arches all the rest of the way. This is the most perfect of all the ancient specificate; and it has been required, so as to coavry the Acqua Felles, uses of the three streams which now sapply Rome. See CLAUDIT, C. 33.

By Soyle, Seatonice here seems the bute or harmsky of the preform comp, which was a permanent and fortified station. It stood to be east of the Vininal and Cetifical hills, between the present Posts Pla and S. Loremo, where there is a quadermpular projection in the city walls marking the sits. The remains of the Amphilhestrem Cattresse stand between the Posts Maggiore and S. Cloremoi, formerly without the neight walls, but now included in the libe. It is all of brick, even the Corticitian pillars, and seems to have been but a rude structure, sailed to the purpose for which it was built, the ammented of the soldiers, and granulatio accretion. For this purpose they were used to constitute tangorary amphilihestres near the stations in the distant provinces, which were not built of stone or brick, but hollow circular spot dogs in the ground, remain which the spectators at ea the decirity on ranges of seats cut in the sol. Many ventures of this this have been treed in British.

The Isthmus of Coristh an enterprize which had formerly been attempted by Demetrius, and which was also projected by Julius Corea, e

and Kero, c. xix.; but they all failed of accomplishing it.

Pious," "The Child of the Camp, the Father of the Armies," and "The Greatest and Best Cæsar" Upon hearing some kings, who came to the city to pay him court, conversing together at supper, about their illustrious descent, he exclaimed,

Είς κοίρανος έτω, είς βασιλεύς.

Let there be but one prince, one king

He was strongly inclined to assume the diadem, and change the form of government, from imperial to regal, but being told that he far oxceeded the grandeur of kings and princes, he began to arrogate to himself a divine majesty. He ordered all the images of the gods, which were famous either for their beauty, or the veneration paid them, among which was that of Jupiter Olympius, to be brought from Greece, that he might take the heads off, and put on his own Having continued part of the Palatium as far as the Forum, and the temple of Castor and Pollux being converted into a kind of vestibule to his house, he often stationed himself between the twin brothers, and so presented himself to be worshipped by all votaries, some of whom saluted him by the name of Jupiter Latialis He also instituted a temple and priests, with choicest victims, in honour of his own divinity. In his temple stood a
statue of gold, the exact image of himself, which was daily
dressed in garments corresponding with those he wore himself The most opulent persons in the city offered themselves as candidates for the honour of being his priests, and purchased it successively at an immense price. The victims were flamingos, peacocks, bustards, guinea-fowls, turkey and pheasant hens, each sacrificed on their respective days. On nights when the moon was full, he was in the constant habit of inviting her to his ambreas and his help. To the days the table of the sacrificed are the following the sacrificed and his help. embraces and his bed In the day-time he talked in private to Jupiter Capitolinus, one while whispering to him, and another turning his ear to him sometimes he spoke aloud, and in railing language. For he was overheard to threaten the god\thus

> "Η ἐμ' ἀνάειρ', η ἐγώ σε ,¹ Raise thou me up, or I'll—

'Eic γαταν Δαναῶν περαω σε,
Into the land of Greece I will transport thee

On the authority of Dio Cassius and the Salinatian manuscript, this verse from Homer is substituted for the common reading, which is,

until being at last prevailed upon by the entreaties of the god as he said to take up his abode with him he built a bridge over the temple of the Defiled Augustus by which he joined the Palatum to the Capitel. Afterwards, that he might be still nearce he laid the foundations of a new palace in the very ourt of the Capitel.

XXIII. He was unwilling to be thought or called the grand son of Agrippo, because of the obscurity of his birth and he was offended if any one, either in proce or verse, ranked him amongst the Ocears. He said that his mother was the fruit of an incestuous commerce, maintained by Augustus with his daughter Julia. And not content with this vile reflection upon the memory of Augustus, he forbad his victories at Actum and on the coast of Sielly to be colebrated, as usual affirming that they had been most pernicious and fatal to the Roman people. He called his grandmother Livia Augusta "Ulymes in a woman's dress, and had the indecency to refleet upon her in a letter to the scenate, as of moun birth and descended, by the mother saide, from a grandfather who was only one of the municipal magistrates of Fondi whereas it is certain, from the public records, that Aufidius Lurco held high offices at Romo His grandmother Antonia desiring a private conference with him, he refused to grant it, unless Macro, the prefect of the pretoman guards, were present. Indignities of this kind, and ill usage, were the cause of her death but some think he also gave her posen. Nor did he pay the smallest respect to her memory after hor death, but witnessed the burning from his private spartment. His brother Tiberius, who had no expectation of any violence, was suddenly dispatched by a military tribune cont by his order for that pur pose. He forced Silanus, his father in law to kill himself by cutting his throat with a raror The protext he alleged for these murders was, that the latter had not followed him apon his putting to see in stormy weather but stayed behind with the view of senzing the city if he should perish. The other he said, smelt of an antidote, which he had taken to prevent his being possoned by him whereas Silanus was only afraid of being sea sick, and the disagreeableness of a voyage and Ti berrus had merely taken a medicano for an habitual cough.

which was continually growing worse. As for his successor Claudius, he only saved him for a laughing-stock

XXIV. He lived in the habit of incest with all his sisters; and at table, when much company was present, he placed each of them in turns below him, whilst his wife reclined It is believed, that he deflowered one of them, above him Drusilla, before he had assumed the robe of manhood, and was even caught in her embraces by his grandmother Antonia, with whom they were educated together. When she was afterwards married to Cassius Longinus, a man of eonsular rank, he took her from him, and kept her eonstantly as if she were his lawful wife In a fit of sickness, he by his will appointed her herress both of his estate and the empire her death, he ordered a public mourning for her, during which it was eapital for any person to laugh, use the bath, or sup with his parents, wife, or children Being inconsolable under his affliction, he went hastily, and in the night-time, from the City, going through Campania to Syracuse, and then suddenly returned without shaving his beard, or trimming his hair Nor did he ever afterwards, in matters of the greatest importance, not even in the assemblies of the people or before the soldiers, swear any otherwise, than "By the divinity of Diusilla" The rest of his sisters he did not treat with so much fondness or regard, but frequently prostituted them to his eatamites He therefore the more readily condemned them in the case of Æmilius Lepidus, as guilty of adultery, and privy to that conspiracy against him Nor did he only divulge their own hand-writing relative to the affair, which he procured by base and lewd means, but likewise consecrated to Mais the Avenger three swords which had been prepared to stab him, with an inscription, setting forth the occasion of their consecration

XXV Whether in the marriage of his wives, in repudiating them, or retaining them, he acted with greater infamy, it is difficult to say. Being at the wedding of Caius Piso with Livia Orestilla, he ordered the bride to be carried to his own house, but within a few days divorced her, and two years after banished her, because it was thought, that upon her divorce she returned to the embraces of her former husband.

Some say that being invited to the wedding supper, he sent a messenger to Piso, who sat opposite to him in these words Do not be too fond with my wife and that he immediately erried her off. Next day he published a proclamation, im porting That he had got a wife as Romulus and Augustus had done. I Lollia Paulina, who was married to a man of consular rank in command of an army he suddenly called from the province where she was with her husband upon mention being made that her grandmother was formerly very beautiful and married her but he soon afterwards parted with her interdicting her from having over afterwards any commerce with man. He loved with a most parsionate and constant affection Cosonia, who was neither handsome nor young and was bondes the mother of three daughters by one ther man but a wanton of unbounded laselylousness. Her he would frequently exhibit to the soldiers, dressed in a mi litary clock, with shield and helmet, and riding by his side To his friends he even showed her naked. After she had a child, he honoured her with the titie of wife in one and the some day declaring himself her husband, and father of the child of which she was delivered. He named it Julia Drusilla, and carrying it round the temples of all the goddesses, hid it on the lap of Minerya; to whom he recommended the care of bringing up and instructing her He considered her as his own child for no better reason than her savage temper which was such even in her infancy that she would attack with her noils the face and eyes of the children at play with her

XXVI. It would be of little importance as well as disgusting to add to all this an account of the manner in which he treated his relations and friends as Ptolemy king Juba a son, his cousin (for he was the grandson of Mark Antony by his daughter Solone) and especially Macro himself, and Ennia hkewise by whose assistance he had obtained the empire; all of whom, for their alliance and eminent survices, he rewarded with violent deaths. Nor was he more mild or respectful in his behaviour towards the senate. Some who had borne the

Alluding, in the case of Romuius, to the rape of the Sabines; and in that of A gustus to his having taken Livis from her husband. Ar Corres, e. Inl.

Selene was the daughter of Mark Auteny by Cleopaira. \* 8co c. xil.

highest offices in the government, he suffered to run by his litter in their togas for several miles together, and to attend him at supper, sometimes at the head of his couch, sometimes at his feet, with napkins Others of them, after he had privately put them to death, he nevertheless continued to send for, as if they were still alive, and after a few days pretended that they had laid violent hands upon themselves The consuls having forgotten to give public notice of his birth-day, he displaced them, and the republic was three days without any one in that high office A questor who was said to be concerned in a conspiracy against him, he scourged severely, having first stripped off his clothes, and spread them under the feet of the soldiers employed in the work, that they might The other orders likewise he treated stand the more firm with the same insolence and violence Being disturbed by the noise of people taking their places at midnight in the circus, as they were to have free admission, he drove them all away with clubs In this tumult, above twenty Roman knights were squeezed to death, with as many matrons, with a great crowd besides When stage-plays were acted, to occasion disputes between the people and the knights, he distributed the money-tickets sooner than usual, that the seats assigned to the knights might be all occupied by the mob In the spectacles of gladiators, sometimes, when the sun was violently hot, he would order the curtains, which covered the amphitheatre, to be drawn aside, and forbad any person to be let out, withdrawing at the same time the usual apparatus for the entertainment, and presenting wild beasts almost pined to death, the most sorry gladiators, decrepit with age, and fit only to work the machinery, and decent house-keepers, who were remarkable for some bodily infirmity

up the public granaries, he would oblige the people to starve for a while.

XXVII. He evinced the savage barbarity of his temper chiefly by the following indications. When flesh was only to be had at a high price for feeding his wild beasts reserved for the spectacles, he ordered that criminals should be given them.

<sup>1</sup> The vast area of the Roman amphitheatres had no roof, but the audience were protected against the sun and bad weather by temporary hangings stretched over it.

to be levoured and upon inspecting them in a row while he stood in the middle of the portice, without troubling himself to examine their cases he ordered them to be dragged away from held, set to held sets. If Of one correct who had made a row

bald-pate to bald-pate. "I Of one person who had made a vow for his recovery to combat with a gladiator he exacted its performance: nor would be allow him to desist until he came off conqueror and after many entreaties. Another who had vowed to give his life for the same cause, having shrunk from the sacrifice, he delivered adorned as a victim, with carlands and fillets, to boys, who were to drive him through the streets. calling on him to fulfil his yow until he was thrown head long from the ramparts. After disfiguring many persons of bencurable rank, by branding them in the face with het irons, he condemned them to the mines, to work in repairing the high ways, or to fight with wild beasts; or tying them by the neck and hools, in the manner of beasts carried to slaughter would shut them up in cages, or saw them psunder Nor were these severities morely inflicted for crimes of great enormity but for making remarks on his public games, or for not having sworn by the Genues of the emperor He com pelled parents to be present at the execution of their sons and to one who excused himself on account of indisposition he cent his own litter Another he invited to his table immediately after he had witnessed the spectacle, and coolir challenged him to jest and be merry He ordered the over soor of the spectacles and wild beasts to be scourged in fetters. during several days successively in his own presence, and did not put him to death until he was disgusted with the stench of his putrefled brain. He burned alive, in the centre of the arona of the amphitheatro, the writer of a farce, for some witty verse, which had a double meaning A Roman knight, who had been exposed to the wild beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he called him back and having had his tongue out out, remanded him to the arena.

XXVIII. Asking a certain person, whom he recalled after a long calle, how he used to spend his time, he replied, with finitery. I was always praying the gods for what hes happened, that Tiborus might die, and you be emperor. Concluding, therefore, that those he had himself benished also in the control of the control of

prayed for his death, he sent orders round the islands' to have them all put to death. Being very desirous to have a senator torn to pieces, he employed some persons to call him a public enemy, fall upon him as he entered the senate-house, stab him with their styles, and deliver him to the rest to tear asunder. Nor was he satisfied, until he saw the limbs and bowels of the man, after they had been dragged through the streets piled up in a heap before him.

XXIX He aggravated his barbarous actions by language equally outrageous "There is nothing in my nature," said he, "that I commend or approve so much, as my ἀδια-ρεψία (inflexible rigour)" Upon his grandmother Antonia's giving him some advice, as if it was a small matter to pay no regard to it, he said to her, "Remember that all things are lawfur for me" When about to murder his brother, whom he sus pected of taking antidotes against poison, he said, "See their an antidote against Cæsar!" And when he banished his isters, he told them in a menacing tone, that he had not only islands at command, but likewise swords. One of pretorial rank having sent several times from Anticyra, whither he had gone for his health, to have his leave of absence prolonged he ordered him to be put to death, adding these words "Bleeding is necessary for one that has taken hellebore so long, and found no benefit" It was his custom every tentification, and found no benefit "It was his custom every tentification, and this he called "clearing his accounts" And having condemned several Gauls and Greeks at one time, he exclaimed in triumph, "I have conquered Gallogræcia"

XXX He generally prolonged the sufferings of his victime by causing them to be inflicted by slight and frequently repeated strokes, this being his well-known and constant order

<sup>1</sup> The islands off the coast of Italy, in the Tuscan sea and in the Archipelago, were the usual places of banishment See before, c. xv, and in Tiberius, c liv, &c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Anticyra, an island in the Archipelago, was famous for the growth o hellebore. This plant being considered a remedy for insanity, the proverb arose—Naviga in Anticyram, as much as to say, "You are mad"

<sup>3</sup> Meaning the province in Asia, called Galatia, from the Gauls who conquered it, and occupied it jointly with the Greek colonists.

"Strike so that he may feel himself die. Having punished one person for another by mustaking his name he said, deserved it quite as much. He had frequently in his mouth these words of the tragedian

Oderint dum metuant.

I scora their hatred, if they do but fear me.

He would often invergh against all the senators without ex ception as cheents of Sejamus, and informers against his mother and brothers, producing the memorials which he had pretended to burn, and exensing the cruelty of Tiberius as necessary since it was impossible to question the verseity of such a number of accusers. He continually reproached the whole equestrian order as devoting themselves to nothing but acting on the stage, and fighting as gladiators. Bomg in censed at the people a apploading a party at the Circonstan games in opposition to him, he exclaimed, I wish the Roman people had but one neck." When Tetrinius, the high wayman was denounced, he said his persecutors too were ell Tetrinius s. Five Retiarii, in tunics, fighting in a company yielded without a struggle to the same number of opponents and being ordered to be alam, one of them taking up his lance again, killed all the conquerors. This he lamented in a proclamation as a most cruel butchery and carried all those who had borne the sight of it.

XXXI He used also to complain aloud of the state of the times, because it was not rendered remarkable by any public A quotation from the tracedy of Atreus, by L. Attlus, mentioned by

Clearo. Off. L 28. Bee before, Augustus, e. lxxl.

These celebrated words are generally attributed t. Nero; but Di and Senece agree with Suctorius in ascribus; them to Caliguia.

Gladiators were dutinguished by their amount and manner of fighting Some were called Seculores, whose arms were a helmet, a shield, sword, or a leaden ball. Others, the usual antagonists of be former were named Reflerii. A combata t of this class was drassed in a sh rt tunic, but wore pothing on his head. He carried in his left hand a three-poi ted lance, called Trideus or Pascine, and i his right, et, with which he attempted to entangle his adversary by east g ver his bead and and dealy drawi g is together; when with his trident he usually slew him. But if he missed his aim, by throwing the net either too short or to: far he instantly betook himself to flight, and endeavoured to prepare his net for a second east. His antagonut, in the mean time, pursued to prevent his design, by dispatching him

calamities, for, while the reign of Augustus had been made memorable to posterity by the disaster of Varus, and that of Tiberius by the fall of the theatre at Fidenæ, his was likely to pass into oblivion, from an uninterrupted series of prosperity And, at times, he wished for some terrible slaughter of his troops, a famine, a pestilence, conflagrations, or an earthquake

XXXII Even in the midst of his diversions, while gaming or feasting, this savage ferocity, both in his language and actions, never forsook him Persons were often put to the torture in his presence, whilst he was dining or carousing soldier, who was an adept in the art of beheading, used at such times to take off the heads of prisoners, who were brought in for that purpose At Puteoli, at the dedication of the bridge which he planned, as already mentioned, he invited a number of people to come to him from the shore, and then suddenly threw them headlong into the sea, thrusting down with poles and oars those who, to save themselves, had got hold of the rudders of the ships At Rome, in a public feast, a slave having stolen some thin plates of silver with which the couches were inlaid, he delivered him immediately to an executioner, with orders to cut off his hands, and lead him round the guests, with them hanging from his neck before his breast, and a label, signifying the cause of his punishment A gladiator who was practising with him, and voluntarily threw himself at his feet, he stabbed with a poniard, and then ran about with a palm branch in his hand, after the manner of those who are victorious in the games When a victim was to be offered upon an altar, he, clad in the habit of the Popæ, and holding the axe aloft for a while, at last, instead of the animal, slaughtered an officer who attended to cut up the sacrifice And at a sumptuous entertainment, he fell suddenly into a violent fit of laughter, and upon the consuls, who reclined next to him, respectfully asking him the occasion, "Nothing," replied he, "but that, upon a single nod of mine, you might both have your throats cut"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Augustus, c xxiii <sup>2</sup> Tiberius, c xl. <sup>3</sup> See before, c xix. <sup>4</sup> Popæ were persons who, at public sacrifices, led the victim to the altar. They had their clothes tucked up, and were naked to the waist. The victim was led with a slack rope, that it might not seem to be brought by force, which was reckoned a bad omen. For the same reason, it was allowed to stand loose before the altar, and it was thought a very unfavourable sign if it got away.

XXXIII. Among many other jests, this was one: As he as od by the statue of Jupiter he asked Apelles, the trigodian which of them he thought was biggest? Upon his demurring about it, he lashed him most severely now and them commending his voice, whilst he entreated for mercy as being well modulated even when he was venting his grief. As often as he kissed the nock of his wife or mistress, he would say 80 becautiful a throat must be ent whenever I please and now and then he would threaten to put his deer Carsonia to the torture that he might discover why he loved her so pusionately

XXXIV In his behaviour towards men of almost all ages. he discovered a degree of jealousy and malignity equal to that of his cruelty and pride. He so demolished and dispersed the statues of several illustrious persons, which had been removed by Augustus, for want of room from the court of the Capitol into the Campus Martius, that it was impossible to set them up again with their inscriptions entire. And for the future he forbad any statue whatever to be erected without his knowledge and leave. He had thoughts too of suppressing Homer's poems For why said he, may not I do what Plate has done before me who excluded him from his common wealth? 1 He was likewise very near banishing the writings and the busts of Virgil and Llvy from all libraries cen suring one of them as a man of no genus and very little learning and the other as a verbose and careless histo-He often talked of the lawyers as if he intended to abolish their profession. By Hercules? he would say shall put it out of their power to answer any questions in law otherwise than by referring to me?

XXXV He took from the noblest porsons in the city the ancient marks of distinction used by their families as the collar from Torquatus from Cincinnatus the curl of

<sup>1</sup> Plato de Repub. xl. : and Geero and Tell. xlviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The collar of gold, takes from the gigantic Ganl who was killed i single combet by Tims Menlins, called a starwards Torquaton, was worn by the lineal male descendants of the Masilian family. But that illustries are becoming extinct, the badge of honour as well as the coponem of Torquaton, was ravived by Augustus, is the person of Calus Moutes Augustus, who perhaps claimed descent by the female line from the family of Manilius.

hair, and from Cneius Pompey, the surname of Great, belonging to that ancient family Ptolemy, mentioned before, whom he invited from his kingdom, and received with great honours, he suddenly put to death, for no other reason, but because he observed that upon entering the theatre, at a public exhibition, he attracted the eyes of all the spectators, by the splendour of his purple robe. As often as he met with handsome men, who had fine heads of hair, he would order the back of their heads to be shaved, to make them appear There was one Esius Proculus, the son of a centurion of the first rank, who, for his great stature and fine proportions, was called the Colossal. Him he ordered to be dragged from his seat in the arena, and matched with a gladiator in light armour, and afterwards with another completely armed, and upon his worsting them both, commanded him forthwith to be bound, to be led clothed in rags up and down the streets of the city, and, after being exhibited in that plight to the women, to be then butchered. There was no man of so abject or mean condition, whose excellency in any kind he did not eavy The Rex Nemorensis2 having many years enjoyed the honour of the priesthood, he procured a still stronger antagonist to oppose him. One Porius, who fought in a chariot,3 having been victorious in an exhibition, and in his joy given feecdom to a slave, was applauded so vehemently, that Caligula rose in such haste from his seat, that, treading upon the hem of his toga, he tumbled down the steps, full of indignation,

¹ Cincinnatus signifies one who has curled or crisped hair, from which Livy informs us that Lucius Quintus derived his eognomen. But of what badge of distinction Caligula deprived the family of the Cincinnati, unless the natural feature was hereditary, and he had them all shaved—a practice we find mentioned just below—history does not inform us, nor

are we able to conjecture

The priest of Diana Nemorensis obtained and held his office by his prowess in arms, having to slay his competitors, and offer human sacrifices, and was called Rex from his reigning paramount in the adjacent forest. The temple of this goddess of the chase stood among the deep woods which clothe the declivities of the Alban Mount, at a short distance from Rome—nemus signifying a grove. Julius Cæsar had a residence there. See his Life, c. lxxi. The venerable woods are still standing, and among them chestnut-trees, which, from their enormous girth and vast apparent age, we may suppose to have survived from the era of the Cæsars. The melancholy and sequestered lake of Nemi, deep set in a hollow of the surrounding woods, with the village on its brink, still preserve the name of Nemi.

An Essedarian was one was fought from an Esseda, the light carriage

described in a former note, p 264

and erving out, A people who are masters of the world, pay greater respect to a gladistor for a trifle than to prince admitted amongst the gods, or to my own majesty here present amongst them

XXXVI He never had the least regard either to the chastity of his own person, or that of others Ho is said to have been inflamed with an unustural possion for Moreus Lepidus Mnester an actor in pantomimes, and for certain hostages and to have engaged with them in the practice of mutual pol Intion. Valerius Catallus, a young man of a consular family b wied aloud in public that he had been exhausted by him in that abominable act. Besides his incest with his sisters, and his notorious passion for Pyrallis, the prostitute there was hardly any lady of distinction with whom he did not make free. He used commonly to invite them with their husbands to support and as they possed by the couch on which he reclined at table examine them very closely like those who traffic in slaves and if any one from modesty held down her face he raised it up with his hand. Afterwards, as often as he was in the humour he would quit the room, send for her he liked best and in a short time return with marks of recent disorder about them. He would then commend or disparage her in the presence of the company r counting the charms or defects of her person and behaviour in private. To some he sent a divorce in the name of their absent husbands, and or dered it to be registered in the public acts

VANVII In the devices of his profine expenditure he surposed all the prodigals that ever lived inventing a new kind of both with strange dishes and suppers, washing in precious unguents, both warm and cold drinking pearls of im mense value dissolved in vinegar ond serving up for his guests loaves and other victuals modelled in gold often saying that a man ought (tither to be a good commist or an emperor Bendes, he scattered money to a prodignous amount among the people, from the top of the Jolian Basilica, during several days successively. He built two ships with ten banks of our, after the Liburmann fashion the peops of which blared with fewels, and the sails were of various parti-colonrs. They were fitted in with ample baths, galleries, and saloons, and supplied with a great variety of vines and other fruit trees. In these he would sail in the day time along the coast of Campania, feasting See before, Leune, a. 2 and swis.

amidst dancing and concerts of music. In building his palaces and villas, there was nothing he desired to effect so much, in defiance of all reason, as what was considered impossible. Accordingly, moles were formed in the deep and adverse sca, rocks of the hardest stone cut away, plains raised to the height of mountains with a vast mass of earth, and the tops of mountains levelled by digging, and all these were to be executed with incredible speed, for the least remissness was a capital offence. Not to mention particulars, he spent enormous sums, and the whole treasures which had been amassed by Tiberius Cæsar, amounting to two thousand seven hundred millions of sesterces, within less than a year

XXXVIII Having therefore quite exhausted these funds, and being in want of money, he had recourse to plundering the people, by every mode of false accusation, confiscation, and taxation, that could be invented He declared that no one had any right to the freedom of Rome, although their ancestors had acquired it for themselves and their posterity, unless they were sons, for that none beyond that degree ought to be considered as posterity When the grants of the Divine Julius and Augustus were produced to him, he only said, that he was very sorry they were obsolete and out of date He also charged all those with making false returns, who, after the taking of the census, had by any means whatever increased their property annulled the wills of all who had been centurions of the first rank, as testimonies of their base ingratitude, if from the beginning of Tiberius's reign they had not left either that prince or himself their heir. He also set aside the wills of all others, if any person only pretended to say, that they designed at their death to leave Cæsar their heir. The public becoming terrified at this proceeding, he was now appointed joint-heir with their friends, and in the case of parents with their children, by persons unknown to him Those who lived any considerable time after making such a will, he said, were only making game of him, and accordingly he sent many of them. poisoned cakes He used to try such causes himself, fixing previously the sum he proposed to raise during the sitting, and, after he had secured it, quitting the tribunal Impatient of the least delay, he condemned by a single sentence forty

Jactis in altum molibus - Hoi Od. b in 1 34

Particularly at Baix, see before, c xix The practice of encroaching on the sea on this coast, commenced before,—

persons, against whom there were different charges boasting to Carsonia when she awoke how much business he had dispatched while she was taking her mid-day sleep. He exposed to sale by anotion the remains of the apparatins used in the public spectacles and exacted such biddings, and raised the purces so high, that some of the purchasers were runned and bled themselves to death. There is a well known story told of Aponius Saturnians, who happening to fall asleep as he set on a bench in the sale Cains called ont to the suctioneer not to cerefook the prediction personage who nodded to him so often; and accordingly the salesman went on preceding to take the ones for tokens of assent, until thirteen gladiators were knocked down to him at the sam of nine millions of resterees, he being in total ignorance of what was done

XXXIX. Having also sold in Gaul all the clothes, furni ture, slaves, and even freedmen belonging to his sisters, at prodigious prices, after their condemnation, he was so much delighted with his gains, that he sent to Rome for all the fur niture of the old palace 1 pressing for its conveyance all the carriages let to hire in the city with the herees and mules belonging to the bakers, so that they often wanted bread at Romo; and many who had suits at law in progress, lost their causes because they could not make their appearance in due time according to their recognizances. In the sale of this furniture overy artifice of fraud and imposition was employed. Sometimes he would rail at the bidders for being nignardly and ask them ' if they were not askemed to be richer than he was!" at another he would affect to be sorry that the pro-perty of princes should be passing into the hands of pri-rate persons. He had found out that a rich provincial had given two hundred thousand sestorees to his chamberlains for an underhand invitation to his table, and he was much pleased to find that honour valued at so high a rate. day following as the same person was siting at the sale, he sent him some bouble, for which he told him he must pay two hundred thousand sectorers, and "that he should sup with Cosar upon his own invitation."

Most of the gladiators were slaves.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The part of the Palatium built or occupied by Augustus and Tiberius.

XL He levied new taxes, and such as were never before known, at first by the publicans, but afterwards, because their profit was enormous, by centurions and tribunes of the pretorian guards, no description of property or persons being exempted from some kind of tax or other. For all eatables brought into the city, a certain excise was exacted for all law-suits or trials in whatever court, the fortieth part of the sum in dispute, and such as were convicted of compromising litigations, were made hable to a penalty. Out of the daily wages of the porters, he received an eighth, and from the gains of common prostitutes, what they received for one favour granted. There was a clause in the law, that all bawds who kept women for prostitution or sale, should be hable to pay, and that marriage itself should not be exempted.

XLI These taxes being imposed, but the act by which they were levied never submitted to public inspection, great grievances were experienced from the want of sufficient knowledge of the law At length, on the urgent demands of the Roman people, he published the law, but it was written in a very small hand, and posted up in a corner, so that no one could make a copy of it To leave no sort of gain untried, he opened brothels in the Palatium, with a number of cells, furnished suitably to the dignity of the place, in which married women and free-born youths were ready for the reception of visitors He sent likewise his nomenclators about the forums and courts, to invite people of all ages, the old as well as the young, to his brothel, to come and satisfy their lusts, and he was ready to lend his customers money upon interest, clerks attending to take down their names in public, as persons who contributed to the emperor's revenue Another method of raising money, which he thought not below his notice, was gaming, which, by the help of lying and perjury, he turned to considerable account Leaving once the management of his play to his partner in the game, he stepped into the court, and observing two rich Roman knights passing by, he ordered them immediately to be seized, and their estates confiscated Then returning, in great glee, he boasted that he had never made a better throw in his life.

XLII After the birth of his daughter, complaining of his

poverty and the bardens to which he was subjected not only as an emperor but a father he made a general collection for her mantenance and fortune. He likewise gave public notice that he would receive new years gifts on the calends of January following, and accordingly stood in the vestibule of his house, to chutch the presents which people of all ranks throw down before him by handfuls and lapfuls. At last being seried with an invincible desire of feeling money, taking off his slippars, he rejectedly walked over great heaps of gold corn spreal upon the spacious floor and then laying lauself down rolled his whole body in gold over and over again

XLIII Only once in his life did he take an active part in military affairs, and then not from any st. purpose but during his journey to Mexania, to see the grove and river of Cli tumnus. Heing recommended to recruit a body of Rafavans, who attended him, he resolved upon an expedition into Germany Immediately he drew together several legions, and auxiliary forces from all quarters, and mode every where now levies with the utmost rigour. Collecting supplies of all kinds such as never had been assembled upon the like occasion, he set forward on his march, and pursued it sometimes with so much haste and precipitation that the preforan cohorts were obliged, contrary to custom to pack their standards on horses or nules, and so follow him. At other times, he would march so slow and luxurfounly that he was carried in a litter by eight men; ordering the reeds to be swept by the people of the urighbouring towns, and sprinkled with water to lay the dust.

VLIV On arraying at the camp, in order to show himself an active general and severe disciplinarian he cashered the licutenants who came up late with the auxiliary forces from different quarters. In reviewing the army he deprived of their companies meat of the centurions of the first rank who had now served their legal time in the wars, and some whose time would have expund in a few days alleging against them their ago and infimity and railing at the covicious disposition

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mayania, a town of Umbria. Its present name is Beragua. The Ciliumaus is a river in the same country celebrated for the broad of white cattle, which feed in the neighbouring passures.

of the rest of them, he reduced the bounty due to those who had served out their time to the sum of six thousand sesterces. Though he only received the submission of Adminius, the son of Cunobeline, a British king, who being driven from his native country by his father, came over to him with a small body of troops, yet, as if the whole island had been surrendered to him, he dispatched magnificent letters to Rome, ordering the bearers to proceed in their carriages directly up to the forum and the senate-house, and not to deliver the letters but to the consuls in the temple of Mars, and in the presence of a full assembly of the senators

XLV Soon after this, there being no hostilities, he ordered a few Germans of his guard to be carried over and placed in concealment on the other side of the Rhine, and word to be brought him after dinner, that an enemy was advancing with great impetuosity This being accordingly done, he immediately threw himself, with his friends, and a party of the pretorian knights, into the adjoining wood, where lopping branches from the trees, and forming trophies of them, he returned by torch-light, upbraiding those who did not follow him. with timorousness and cowardice, but he presented the companions and sharers of his victory with crowns of a new form, and under a new name, having the sun, moon, and stars represented on them, and which he called Exploratoria Again, some hostages were by his order taken from the school. and privately sent off, upon notice of which he immediately rose from table, pursued them with the cavalry, as if they had run away, and coming up with them, brought them back in fetters, proceeding to an extravagant pitch of ostentation likewise in this military comedy. Upon his again sitting down to table, it being reported to him that the troops were all reassembled, he ordered them to sit down as they were, in their armour, animating them in the words of that wellknown verse of Virgil

<sup>1</sup> Caligula appears to have meditated an expedition to Britain at the time of his pompous ovation at Puteoli, mentioned in c xiii, but if Julius Cæsar could gain no permanent footing in this island, it was very inprobable that a prince of Caligula's character would ever seriously attempt it, and we shall presently see that the whole affair turned out a farce

Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis -,En. } Bear up, and save yourselves for better days.

In the mean time he reprinted the senate and people of thome in a very server preclamation. For reveiling and frequenting the diversions of the circus and theatre and enjoying themselves of their villas, whilst their emperor was fight ing and exposing himself to the greatest dangers.

VLVI At last, as if re-olved to make war in carnest, he drew up his army upon the shere of the ce-an with his belittee and other engines of war and while no one could imagine what he intended to do, on a sudden commanded them to gather up the rea shells, and fill their helmets and the folds of their dress with them, calling them the spoils of the ocean due to the Cepitol and the Palasium as a monument of his success, he raised a lofty tower upon which as at Phares he ordered lights to be burnt in the night time for the direction of ships at ear; and then promising the soldiers a donative of a hundred denarit a man as if he had surpassed the most eminent examples of generoity. To your ways, said he and be merry; go, ye are neh."

CLVII In making preparations for his training besides the prisoners and deserters from the barbaran armites, he picked out the men of greatest stature in all floud, such as he said were fittest to grace a trainingle with some of the chiefs and reserved them to appear in the procession—obliging them not only to dye their hair yellow and let it grow long but to learn the German language and assume the names commonly used in that country. He ordered likewise the gallies in which he had entered the ocean to be conveyed to Rome a great part of the way by land, and wrote to his comptrollers in the city, 'to make proper preparations for a trumph orginate.

It seems generally agreed, that the point of the coast which was signalized by the ridiculous beravido of Calippia, somewhat redeemed by the erroins of a lighthone, was litims afterwards called Geasoriacum and Bonosals (Boulopse), a town belonging to the Gallah tribe of the Morisit, where Julius Craur embuland on bit expedition, and which became the usual places of departure for the transit to Bittain.

<sup>3</sup> The denarius was worth at this time about seven peace or eight

peace of our money

his arrival, at as small expense as possible, but on a corle such as had never been seen before, since they had full power over the property of every one"

XLVIII Before he left the province, he formed a design of the most hornd crucky -to mass acre the legions which had mutined upon the death of Augustus, for sering and detaining by force his father, Germanicus, their commander, and himself, then an infant, in the camp Though he was with great difficulty dissunded from this rash attempt, vet neither the most argent entreaties nor representations could prevent him from persisting in the design of decimating these legions Accordingly, he ordered them to assemble unarnual, without so much as their swords, and then surrounded them with armed horse. But finding that many of them, suspecting that violence was intended, were making off, to arm in their own defence, he quitted the assembly as fast as he could, and immediately marched for Rome, bending now all his fury against the senate, whom he publicly threatened, to divert the general attention from the clamour excited by his disgracful conduct Amongst other pretexts of oflence, he complained that he was defrauded of a triumph, which was justly his due, though he had just before forbidden, upon pan of death, any honour to be deered him

XLIX In his march he was waited upon by depities from the senatorian order, entreating him to hasten his return. He replied to them, "I will come, I will come, and this with me," striking at the same time the hilt of his sword. He issued likewise this proclamation. "I am coming, but for those only who wish for me, the equestrian order and the people, for I shall no longer treat the senate as their fellow-entized of prince." He forbad any of the senators to come to meet him, and either abandoning or deferring his triumph, he entered the city in ovation on his birth-day. Within four months from this period he was slain, after he had perpetrated enormous errince, and while he was meditating the execution, if possible, of still greater. He had entertained a design of removing to Antium, and afterwards to Alexandria, having first cut off the flower of the equestrian and senatorian orders. This is placed beyond all question, by two books which were found in his ca

binet under different titles one being ended the sword and the other the degger. They both contained private mirks, and the names of these who were deroted to death. There was also found a large chest, filled with a variety of poisons, which being afterwards thrown into the sea by order of Clan dius are said to have so infected the waters that the fish were poisoned and cost dead by the tide upon the neighbouring shores.

L. He was tall of a pale complexion ill-shaped, his neck and legs very slender his eyes and temples hollow his brows broad and knit his hair thin, and the crown of the head bald The other parts of his body were much covered with hair On this account, it was reckoned a capital crime for any per son to look down from above as he was na sine hy or so much as to name a goat His countenance which was naturally hideous and frightfal he purposely rendered more so, forming it before a mirror into the most horrillo contortions, He was craxy both in body and mind being subject, when a boy to the falling seckness. When he arrived at the ogo of manhood, he endured fatigue telerably well but still, ocensionally he was liable to a faintness, during which he remained meapable of any effort. He was not insensible of the disorder of his mind, and sometimes had thoughts of retiring to clear his brain. It is believed that his wife Carsonia ad ministered to him a love potion which threw him into a frenzy What most of all disordered him, was want of sleep, for he soldom had more than three or four hours rest in a night; and even then his sleep was not sound but disturbed by strange dreams, faneying among other things that a form represent ing the ocean spoke to him Boing therefore often weary with lying awake so long, sometimes he sat up in his bed, at others, walked in the longest portions about the house and from time to time invoked and looked out for the approach of day

Li To this crary constitution of his mind may I think, very justly be ascribed two faults which he had, of a nature directly repugnant one to the other namely an excessive confidence and the most abject timidity. For he, who effected so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Probably to Anticyra. See before, c. xxix. note

much to despise the gods, was ready to shut his eyes, and wrap up his head in his cloak at the slightest storm of thunder and lightning, and if it was violent, he got up and hid himself under his bed In his visit to Sicily, after ridiculing many strange objects which that country affords, he ran away suddenly in the night from Messini, terrified by the smoke and rumbling at the summit of Mount Ætna And though in words he was very valiant against the barbarians, yet upon passing a narrow defile in Germany in his light car, surrounded by a strong body of his troops, some one happening to say, "There would be no small consternation amongst us, if an enemy were to appear," he immediately mounted his horse, and rode towards the bridges in great haste, but finding them blocked up with camp-followers and baggage-waggons, he was in such a hurry, that he caused himself to be carried in men's hands over the heads of the crowd Soon afterwards, upon hearing that the Germans were again in rebellion, he prepared to quit Rome, and equipped a fleet, comforting himself with this consideration, that if the enemy should prove victorious, and possess themselves of the heights of the Alps, as the Cimbri had done, or of the city, as the Senones<sup>2</sup> formerly did, he should still have in reserve the transmarine provinces 3 Hence it was, I suppose, that it occurred to his assassins, to invent the story intended to pacify the troops who mutinied at his death, that he had laid violent hands upon himself, in a fit of terror occasioned by the news brought him of the defeat of his army

LII In the fashion of his clothes, shoes, and all the rest of his dress, he did not wear what was either national, or properly civic, or peculiar to the male sex, or appropriate to mere mortals. He often appeared abroad in a short coat of stout cloth, richly embroidered and blazing with jewels, in a tunic with sleeves, and with bracelets upon his arms, sometimes all in silks and

<sup>2</sup> The Senones were a tribe of Cis-Alpine Gauls, settled in Umbria,

who sacked and pillaged Rome Auc 363

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Cimbri were German tribes on the Elbe, who invaded Italy Auc 640, and were defeated by Metellus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> By the transmarine provinces, Asia, Egypt, &c, are meant, so that we find Caligula entertaining visions of an eastern empire, and removing the seat of government, which were long afterwards realized in the time of Constantine

haldted like a woman at other times in the crepuler or buskins sometimes in the sort of shoes used by the light armed soldiers, or in the cock used by women and commonly with a golden beard fixed to his chin, holding in his hand a thunder bolt a trident, or a caduccua, marks of distinction belonging to the gods only Rometimes, too, he appeared in the habit of Venus. He were very commonly the triumphal ornaments, even before his expedition, and sometimes the breast-plate of Alexander the Great, taken out of his coffin.

LIII With regard to the liberal sciences, he was little conversal in philology but applied himself with audinity to the study of eloquence, being indeed in point of cannenation tole rably elegant and rredy; and in his percentions when he was moved to anger there was an abundant flow of words and periods. In speaking his action was rehement, and his voice so strong that he was heard at a great distance. When winding up an harangue he threatened to draw the sword of his in calviation holding a loose and smooth style in such contempt, that he said Sencea, who was then much admired wrote only detached cessays, and that his language was nothing but send without lime. He often wrote answers to the speeches of successful orators and employed himself in composing accusations or vindications of eminent persons, who were impeached before the senate and gave his voice for or against the party accused according to his success in speaking, inviting the equestrian order by proclamation to hear him

LIV He also readously applied bluneaft to the practice of several other arts of different kinds, such as fencing chariot coring singing and dancing. In the first of these he practiced with the weapons used in war and drove the chariot in circuses bell in several places. He was so extremely foul of singing and dancing, that he could not refrain in the theatro from singing with the tragediams, and limiting the gestures of the actors, either by way of applicate or correction. A night exhibition which he had ordered the day he was alain was thought to be intended for no other reason, than to take the opportunity afforded by the brenticumess of the season, to make his first appearance upon the stage. Sometimes, also,

he danced in the night Summoning once to the palatium, in the second watch of the night, three men of consular rank, who feared the words from the message, he placed them on the proseenium of the stage, and then suddenly came bursting out, with a loud noise of flutes and castanets, dressed in a mantle and tunic reaching down to his heels. Having danced out a song, he retired. Yet he who had acquired such dexternty in other exercises, never learnt to swim

LV Those for whom he once conceived a regard he favoured even to madness He used to kiss Mnester, the pantomimic actor, publicly in the theatre, and if any person made the least noise while he was dancing, he would order him to be dragged from his seat, and scourged him with his own hand A Roman knight once making some bustle, he sent him, by a centurion, an order to depart forthwith for Ostia,3 and carry a letter from him to king Ptolemy in Mauritania letter was comprised in these words "Do neither good nor harm to the bearer" He made some gladiators captains of his German guards. He deprived the gladiators called Mirmillones of some of their arms One Columbus coming off with victory in a combat, but being slightly wounded, he ordered some poison to be infused in the wound, which he thence called Columbinum For thus it was certainly named with his own hand in a list of other poisons. He was so extravagantly fond of the party of charioteers whose colours were green,4 that he supped and lodged for some time constantly in the stable where their horses were kept. At a certain revel, he made a present of two millions of sesterces to one Cythicus, a driver of a chariot The day before the Cucensian games, he used to send his soldiers to enjoin silence in the

About midnight, the watches being divided into four

\* The port of Rome

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Scabella commentators are undecided as to the nature of this instrument. Some of them suppose it to have been either a sort of cymbal or castanet, but Pitiscus in his note gives a figure of an ancient statue preserved at Florence, in which a dancer is represented with cymbals in his hands, and a kind of wind instrument attached to the toe of his left foot, by which it is worked by pressure, something in the way of an accordion

The Romans, in their passionate devotion to the amusements of the circus and the theatre, were divided into factions, who had their favourites among the racers and actors, the former being distinguished by the colours of the party to which they belonged. See before, c xviii, and Tiberius, axxvii.

neighbourhood that the repose of his herse Incitatus' might not be disturbed. For this farcounte animal beades a marble stable an ivery manger purple housings, and a jewelled froutlet, he appointed a house with a retinue of slaves and fine furniture for the reception of such as were invited in the horse a name to sup with him. It is even said that he intended to make him consul.

LVI. In this frantic and savage career numbers had formed designs for entting him off but one or two conspiracies being discovered, and others postpoued for want of opportunity at last two men concerted a plan together and accomplished their purpose; not without the privity of some of the greatest favourites amongst his freedmen and the prefects of the pretorian guards because, having been named, though falsely as concerned in one conspiracy against him they perceived that they were suspected and become objects of his hetrid, For he had immediately endeavoured to render them observious to the soldiery drawing his sword, and declaring. That he would kill himself if they thought him worthy of death;" and ever after he was centinually accusing them to one another and setting them all mutually at variance. The conspi rators having resolved to fall upon him as he returned at neon from the Palatine games, Cassius Cherce, tribune of the pretorian guards, claimed the part of making the onset. Cherca was now an elderly man, and had been often represented by Cafus for effeminacy When he came for the watchword the latter would give 'Priapus," or Venus and if on any occasion he returned thanks, would offer him his hand to kies, making with his fingers an obscene gesture.

LVII. His approaching fate was indicated by many productes. The statue of Jupiter at Olympia, which he had or dured to be taken down and brought to Rome suddenly burst out into such a violent fit of laughter that, the machines employed in the work giving way the workmen took to their heels. When this seedent happened, there came up a man named Cassius, who said that he was commanded in a dream to sacrifice a bull to Jupiter. The Capital at Capus was

In the slang of the turf, the name of Caligula s celebrated horse mights perhaps, be translated. Go-a-head."

two different accounts are given. Some say that, whilst he was speaking to the boys, Cherrea came behind him and gave him a heavy blow on the neck with his sword first crying out,

Take this!" that then a tribune by name Cornelius Sabinus, another of the constitutors, ran him through the breat. Others say that the crowd being kept at a distance by some centurions who were in the plot, Sabinus chme according to custom for the word, and that Caus gare him Inpiter" upon which Cherca ered out. Be it so? and then on his looking round, circ one of his jaws with a blow. As he lay on the ground, crying out that he was still alive' the rest dispatched him with thirty wounds. For the word agreed upon among them all was. Strike again." Some likewise ran their swords through his privy parts. Upon the first bustle the litter bearers came running in with their poles to his arisis nace and, immediately afterwards, his German body guards, who killed some of the assassins and also some senators who had no concern in the affair

LIX. He lived twenty nine years, and reigned three years, ten months, and eight days. His body was carried privately into the Lamian Gardens,\* where it was half burnt upon a pile hastily relied, and then had some earth carelessly thrown over it. It was afterwards disinterred by his sitters on their return from banishment, burnt to eahes and buried. Before this was done it is well known that the keepers of the gar dens were greatly disturbed by apparitions and that not a might passed without some terrible alarm or other in the hones where he was slain, until it was destroyed by fire. His wife Gesonia was killed with him, being stabled by a centurion; and his daughter had her burius kneeded out against a wall.

LX. Of the miserable condition of those times, any person

The Lamian was an ancient family the founders of Formis. They had gardens on the Esquiline mount,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Josephos, who supplies us with nalmoto details of the assassination of Calignia, says that he made so octory either diskaining it, or because an airm would have been useless; but that he attempted to make his except through a corridor which fed to some baths behind the paleer. Among the ruiss on the Palsine kill these baths still attract attention, some of the freecos being in good preservation. See the account in Josephus, xix. 1, 2.

may easily form an estimate from the following circumstances. When his death was made public, it was not immediately credited. People entertained a suspicion that a report of his being killed had been contrived and spread by himself, with the view of discovering how they stood affected towards him. Nor had the conspirators fixed upon any one to succeed him. The senators were so unanimous in their resolution to assert the liberty of their country, that the consuls assembled them at first not in the usual place of meeting, because it was named after Julius Cæsar, but in the Capitol. Some proposed to abolish the memory of the Cæsars, and level their temples with the ground. It was particularly remarked on this occasion, that all the Cæsars, who had the prænomen of Caius, died by the sword, from the Caius Cæsar who was slain in the times of Cinna.

Unfortunately, a great chasm in the Annals of Tacitus, at this period, precludes all information from that historian respecting the reign of Caligula, but from what he mentions towards the close of the preceding chapter, it is evident that Caligula was forward to seize the reins of government, upon the death of Tiberius, whom, though he rivalled him in his vices, he was far from imitating in his dissimulation Amongst the people, the remembrance of Germanicus' virtues cherished for his family an attachment which was probably increased by its misfortunes, and they were anxious to see revived in the son the popularity of the father Considering, however, that Caligula's vicious disposition was already known, and that it had even been an inducement with Tiberius to procure his succession, in order that it might prove a foil to his own memory, it is surprising that no effort was made at this juncture to shake off the despotism which had been so intolerable in the last reign, and restore the ancient liberty of the republic Since the commencement of the imperial dominion, there never had been any period so favourable for a counter-revolution as the There existed now no Livia, to influence the present crisis minds of the senate and people in respect of the government, nor was there any other person allied to the family of Germanicus, whose countenance or intrigues could promote the views of Caligula He himself was now only in the twenty-fifth year of his age, was totally inexperienced in the administration of public affairs, had never performed even the smallest service to his country, and was generally known to be of a character which

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disgraced his illustrous descent. Yet in spite of all these circumstances such was the destiny of Rome that his accossion afforded joy to the soldiers, who had known him in his child hood, and to the populace in the capital as well as the people in the provinces, who were flattered with the delusive expectation of receiving a prince who should adorn the throne with the antiable virtues of Germanicus.

It is difficult to say whether weakness of understanding or corruption of morals, were more conspictous in the character of Calignia. He seems to have discovered from his earliest years an innate depravity of mind, which was undoubtedly much increased by defect of education. He had lost both his paronis at an early period of life; and from Tiberius own character, as well as his views in training the person who should succeed him on the throne there is reason to think, that if any attention whaterer was paid to the education of Calignia, it was directed to vitiate all his faculties and persons, rather than to correct and improve them. If such was really the object, it was indeed to

prosecuted with success.

The commencement, however of his reign was such as by no means prognostlested its subsequent transition. The sudden change of his conduct, the estenishing mixture of imbecility and presumption, of moral turpitude and frantic extravagance which he afterwards evinced; such as rolling himself over heaps of gold, his treatment of his horse Incitatus, and his dengn of making him consul seem to justify a suspicion that his hrain had actually been affected, either by the potion said to have been given him by his wife Cosonia, or otherwise. Philtres, or lovepotions as they were called, were frequent in those times; and the people believed that they operated upon the mind by a mys terious and sympathetic power It is, however beyond a doubt that their effects were produced entirely by the action of their physical qualities upon the organs of the body They were usu ally made of the satyrion, which, according to Pliny was a provocative. They were generally given by women to their husbands at bed time; and it was necessary towards their successful operation, that the parties should sleep together. This circumstance explains the whole mystery. The philtres were nothing more than medicines of a stimulating quality which after exciting violent, but temporary effects, enfectled the con stitution, and occasioned nervous disorders, by which the mental faculties, as well as the corpored, might be injured. That this was really the case with Caliguia, seems probable, not only from the falling sickness, to which he was subject, but from the habitual wakefulness of which he complained.

The profusion of this emperor, during his short reign of three years and ten months, is unexampled in history. In the midst of profound peace, without any extraordinary charges either civil or military, he expended, in less than the year, he sales the current revenue of the empire the suit of £21,719,875 sterling, which had been left by Tilarius at his death. To supply the extraorgance of future years, new and exorbita it taxes were imposed upon the people, and those too on the necessaries of life. There existed now amongst the Romans every motive that could excite a general indignation against the government, yet such was still the dread of importal power, though vested in the hands of so weak and desperable a sovereign, that no insurrection was attempted, nor any extensive company formed, but the obnoxious emperor fell at last a sacrific to a few centurious of his own guard

This reign was of too short duration to afford any new productions in literature, but, had it been extended to a much longer period, the effects would probably have been the reme. Polite learning never could flourish under an emperor who entertained a design of destroying the writings of Virgil and Levy. It is fortunate that these, and other valuable productions of antiquity, were too widely diffused over the world, and too carefully preserved, to be in danger of perishing through the frenzy

of this capricious barbaners.

## TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSUS CÆSAR

I Livia, having married Augustus when she was pregnant, was within three months afterwards delivered of Drussa, the father of Claudius Cerar who had at first the premomen of Decimus, but afterwards that of Aero and it was suspected that he was begotten in adultery by his father in-law. The following verse however, was immediately in every one smooth—

Tel larvy ever new release cradic.

Nine months for common births the fates decree;
But, for the great, reduce the term to three.

This Drusus, during the time of his being quester and protor commanded in the Itherian and German wars, and was the first of all the Roman generals who navigated the Aorthern Ocean." He made likewise some predigious trenches beyond the Rhine ! which to this day are called by his name. He overthrow the enemy in several battles, and drove them far book into the depths of the desert. Nor did he desist from pursuing them until an apparition, in the form of a barbarian woman, of more than human size, appeared to him and, in the Latin tongue forbad him to proceed any farther For these schiovements ho had the honour of an evation and the triumphal emaments. After his prectorship, he immediately entered on the office of consul and returning egain to Germany, died of disease, in the summer encampment which thence obtained the name of The His corpso was carried to Rome by the Unlucky Camp. principal persons of the several municipalities and colonies upon the road, being met and received by the recorders of each place, and buried in the Compus Martius. In honour of his

Tacitus, Annal. xi. 8, 1 mentions this fosse, and says that Drumus sailed up the Metuo and the Weal, Cluverius places it between the vil-

lege of |selvort and the town of Deaborg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A.u.c. 714.
<sup>3</sup> Pliny describes Druves as having in this voyage circumnavigated Germany and reached the Cimbrian Cheromese, and the Seythian shores, recking with constant fore-

memory, the army creeted a monument, round witch the sol diers used, annually, upon a certain dies, to march in a b un procession, and persons deputed from the extendents of first performed religious rites. The sensite lifewise, among various other honours, decreed for him a triumphal and of trible, with troplics, in the Appi in Way, and give the cognories of Germanicus to him and his posterity. In him the civil and military virtues were equally displayed, for, beader his seetories, he gained from the eminy the Spolin Of u " 1 that frequently marked out the German chiefe in the rudet of their army, and encountered them in single combit, at the intrast hazard of his life He likewise often declared that he would, some time or other, if possible, restore the uncent government On this account, I suppose, some have ventured to affirm that Augustus was jealous of him, and recalled him, and becomes he made no haste to comply with the order, took him off by This I mention, that I may not be guilty of any omission, more than because I think it either true or probable, sinco Ingustusloved him so much when living, that he always, in his wills, made him joint-heir with his sons, as he once declared in the senate, and upon his decesso, extelled him in a speech to the people, to that degree, that he pravid the gold "to make his Cosars like him, and to grant himself as honourable an exit out of this world as they had given him " And not satisfied with inscribing upon his tomb in epitaph in verso composed by himself, he wrote likewise the history of his life in prose. He had by the younger Autonia several children. but left behind him only three, namely, Germanicus, Livilli. and Claudius

II Claudius was born at Lyons, in the consul-hip of Julius Antonius, and Fabius Africanus, upon the first of August, the very lay upon which an ultar was first dedicated there to Augustus. He was named Tiberius Claudius Drusus, but soon afterwurds,

The Spolia Opima were the spoils taken from the enemy's king, or chief, when slain in single combat by a Roman general. They were always hung up in the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Those spoils had been obtained only three since the foundation of Rome, the first by Romulus, who slew Acron, king of the Ceninenses, the next by A Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolimining, king of the Verentes, Au. 318, and the third by M. Claudius Marcellus, who slew Viridomarias, king of the Gauls, Au. 330

upon the adoption of his elder brother into the Julian family he assumed the cognomen of Germanicus. He was left an infant by his father, and during almost the whole of his minority and for some time after he attained the age of manhood was afflicted with a variety of obstinate disorders, insomuch that his mind and body being greatly impaired he was even after his arrival at years of maturity never thought sufficiently qualified for any public or private employment. Ho was, therefore during a long time, and even after the expiration of his minority under the direction of a pedagogue, who he complains in a certain memoir was a barbarous wretch and formerly su perintendent of the mule-drivers, who was selected for his governor on purpose to correct him severely on every trifling On occount of this erasy constitution of body and mind, at the spectacle of gladiators, which he gave the people jointly with his brother in honour of his father a memory he presided, muffled up in a pallium—a new fashion. When he assumed the manly habit, he was carried in a litter at mid night, to the Capitol, without the usual ceremony

III. He applied himself however from an early age, with great assiduity to the study of the liberal sciences, and frequently published specimens of his skill in each of them. But never with all his endeavours, could be attain to any public post in the government, or afford any hope of arriving at distinction thereafter His mother Antonia, frequently called him an abortion of a man that had been only begun, but nover finished, by nature. And when she would upbroid any one with dulness, she said. He was a greater feel than her son, Claudius." His grandmother Augusta, always treated him with the utmost contempt, very rarely spoke to him and when she did admenish him upon any occasion it was in writing very briefly and severely or by messengers. His sister Livilla, upon hearing that he was about to be created emperor openly and loudly expressed her indignation that the Roman people should experience a fate so serure and so much below their grandour To exhibit the opinion, both favourable and otherwise, entertained concerning him by Augustus, his great uncle, I have here subjoined some extracts from the letters of that emperor

IV 'I have had some conversation with Tiberius, accord-

ing to your desire, my dear Livia, as to what must be done with your grandson, Tiberius, at the games of Mars We are both agreed in this, that, once for all, we ought to determine what course to take with him For if he be really sound and, so to speak, quite right in his intellects, why should we hesitate to promote him by the same steps and degrees we did his brother? But if we find him below par, and deficient both in body and mind, we must beware of giving occasion for him and ourselves to be laughed at by the world, which is ready enough to make such things the subject of mirth and derision. For we never shall be easy, if we are always to be debating upon every occasion of this kind, without settling, in the first instance, whether he be really capable of public offices or not With regard to what you consult me about at the present moment, I am not against his superintending the feast of the priests, in the games of Mars, if he will suffer himself to be governed by his kinsman, Silanus's son, that he may do nothing to make the people stare and laugh at him But I de not approve of his witnessing the Circensian games from the Pulvinar He will be there exposed to view in the very front of the theatre Nor do I like that he should go to the Alban Mount,2 or be at Rome during the Latin festival 3 For if he be capable of attending his brother to the mount, why is he not made prefect of the city? Thus, my dear Livia, you have my thoughts upon the matter In my opinion, we ought to

1 This epistle, as it was the habit of Augustus, is interspersed with

Greek phrases

The Alban Monnt is the most interesting feature of the scenery of the Campagna about Rome, Monti Cavo, the summit, rising above an amphitheatre of magnificent woods, to an elevation of 2965 French feet. The view is very extensive below is the lake of Albano, the finest of the volcanic lakes in Italy, and the modern town of the same name. Few

traces remain of Alba Longa, the ancient capital of Latium

On the summit of the Alban Mount, on the site of the present convent, stood the temple of Jupiter Latialis, where the Latin tribes assembled annually, and renewed their league, during the Feriæ Latinæ, instituted by Tarquinus Superbns. It was here, also, that Roman generals, who were refused the honours of a full triumph, performed the ovation, and sacrificed to Jupiter Latialis. Part of the triumphal way by which the mountain was ascended, formed of vast blocks of lava, is still in good preservation, leading through groves of chestnut trees of vast size and age. Spanning them with extended arms—none of the shortest—the operation was repeated five times in compassing their girth.

settle this affair once for all that we may not be always in suspense between hope and fear. You may if you think proper, give your kinsman Antonia this part of my letter to read.'
In another letter he writes as follows: I shall invite the
youth Tiberius, every day during your obscince to supper
that he may not sup alone with his friends Sulpicius and
Athenodorus. I wish the poor creature was more cautious
and extensive in the choice of some one whose manners, air,
and guit might be proper for his imitation

Aroyal aring is rait servicular Mar. In things of consequence be saily fails.

Where his mind does not run estray he discovers a noble disposition. In a third letter he says. Let me die my dear Lavia, if I am not estonished that the declamation of your grandson, Tiberins, should please me; for how he who talks so ill should be able to declaim so elemity and properly I cannot imagine." There is no doubt but Augustus, after this, came to a resolution upon the subject, and, accordingly left him invested with no other honour than that of the Augural priest hood naming him amongst the herrs of the third degree who were but distantly allied to his family for a sixth part of his estate only with a legacy of no more than eight hundred thousand escateres.

V Upon his requesting some office in the state, Tiberius granted him the hencemy appendages of the consulabile, and when he pressed for a legitimate appointment, the emperor wrote word back, that 'he sent him forty gold pieces for his expenses, during the feetivals of the Setarsatic and Synllars'. Upon this, laying saide all hope of advancement, he resigned himself entirely to an indolent life living in great privacy one while in his gardens, or a villa which he had near the city another while in Campania, where he pessed his time in the lowest society by which means, bendes has former character of a dull, heavy fellow, he acquired that of a drunkard and generates.

VI. Notwithstanding this sort of life, much respect was shown him both in public and private. The equestrian

order twice made choice of him to intercede on their behalf; once to obtain from the consuls the favour of bearing on their shoulders the corpse of Augustus to Rome, and a second time to congratulate him upon the death of Sejanus he entered the theatre, they used to rise, and put off their cloaks The senate likewise decreed, that he should be added to the number of the Augustal college of priests, who were chosen by lot, and soon afterwards, when his house was burnt down, that it should be rebuilt at the public charge, and that he should have the privilege of giving his vote amongst the men of consular rank This decree was, however, repealed, Tiberius insisting to have him excused on account of his imbecility, and promising to make good his loss at his own ex-But at his death, he named him in his will, amongst his third heirs, for a third part of his estate, leaving him besides a legacy of two millions of sesterces, and expressly recommending him to the armies, the senate and people of Rome, amongst his other relations

VII At last, Caius, his brother's son, upon his advancement to the empire, endeavouring to gain the affections of the public by all the arts of popularity, Claudius also was admitted to public offices, and held the consulship jointly with his nephew for two months. As he was entering the Forum for the first time with the fasces, an eagle which was flying that way, alighted upon his right shoulder. A second consulship was also allotted him, to commence at the expiration of the fourth year. He sometimes presided at the public spectacles, as the representative of Caius, being always, on those occasions, complimented with the acclamations of the people, wishing him all happiness, sometimes under the title of the emperor's uncle, and sometimes under that of Germanicus's brother.

VIII. Still he was subjected to many slights—If at any time he came in late to supper, he was obliged to walk round the room some time before he could get a place at table. When he indulged himself with sleep after eating, which was a common practice with him, the company used to throw olive-stones and dates at him—And the buffoons who attended would wake him, as if it were only in jest, with a cane or a

1 CALIGULA. See c v. of his life

CLAUDIUS 801

whip. Sometimes they would put slippers upon his hands, as he lay anoring that he might, upon awaking rab his face with them.

IX. He was not only exposed to contempt, but sometimes likewise to considerable danger first, in his consulting for having been too remiss in providing and erecting the statutes of Calus a brothers, here and Drusus, he was very near being deprired of his office and afterwards he was continually harassed with informations against him by one or other sometimes even by his own domesties. When the comprisery of Lepidos and Osculucus was discorred, being sent with some other deputies into Germany' to congratulate the emperor upon the occasion, he was in danger of his life; Calus being greatly enroged, and loadly complaining, that his uncle was sent to him as if he was a boy who wanted a governer Some even say that he was thrown into a river in his travel ling dires. From this period he voted in the senate always the last of the members of consular rank being called upon after the rest, on purpose to diagrace him. A charge for the forgery of a will was also allowed to be proceeded, though he had only signed it as a witness. At last, being called upon after the rest, on purpose to diagrace him. A charge for the forgery of a will was sloo allowed to be proceeded, though he had only signed it as a witness. At last, being called upon affeits, that in order to discharge his bond to the trensury he was under the necessity of exposing to sale his whole estate by an order of the prefector.

X. Having speat the greater part of his life under these and the like circumstances, he came at last to the empire in the fifueth year of his age, by a very surprising turn of fortune. Being, as well as the rest, provented from approaching Causs by the comprisators, who dispersed the crowd, under the pretext of his destring to be private, he refired into an opartment called the Hermsoum; and soon afterwards, terrified by the report of Caius being slain he crept into an adjoining believely where he hid himself behind the hangings of

<sup>1</sup> AUG. 793. Life of Carretta, co. rliv xlv., &c. 2 AUG. 794

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The chamber of Mercury; the names of delties being given to different apartments, as those "of Isis, "of the Muses, &c."

the door A common soldier, who happened to pass that way, spying his feet, and desirous to discover who he was, pulled him out, when immediately recognizing him, he threw himself in a great fright at his feet, and saluted him by the title of emperor. He then conducted him to his fellow-soldiers, who were all in a great rage, and irresolute what they should do. They put him into a litter, and as the slaves of the makes had all fled, took their turns in common him on their palace had all fled, took their turns in carrying him on their shoulders, and brought him into the camp, sad and trembling, the people who met him lamenting his situation, as if the poor innocent was being earried to execution. Being received within the ramparts, he continued all night with the sentries on guard, recovered somewhat from his fright, but in no great hopes of the succession For the consuls, with the senate and civic troops, had possessed themselves of the Forum and Capitol, with the determination to assert the public liberty, and he being sent for likewise, by a tribune of the people, to the senate-house, to give his advice upon the present juncture of affairs, returned answer, "I am under constraint, and cannot possibly come" The day afterwards, the senate being dilatory in their proceedings, and worn out by divisions amongst themselves, while the people who surrounded the senate-house shouted that they would have one master, naming Claudius, he suffered the soldiers assembled under arms to swear allegiance to him, promising them fifteen thousand sesterces a man, he being the first of the Cæsars who purchased the submission of the soldiers with money,2

XI Having thus established himself in power, his first object was to abolish all remembrance of the two preceding days, in which a revolution in the state had been canvassed. Accordingly, he passed an act of perpetual oblivion and pardon for every thing said or done during that time, and this he faithfully observed, with the exception only of putting to death a few tribunes and centurions concerned in the conspiracy against Caius, both as an example, and because he understood that they had also planned his own death. He now turned

See the note, p 265

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The attentive reader will have marked the gradual growth of the power of the pretorian guard, who now, and on so many future occasions, ruled the destinies of the empire.

his thoughts towards paying respect to the memory of his relations. His most solemn and usual eath was, By Augustus. Ho prevailed upon the senate to deerce divine honours to his grandmother Livis, with a chariot in the Circensian procession drawn by elephants, as had been appointed for Augustus; and public offerings to the shades of his parents. Besides which, he instituted Circensian games for his father to be celebrated every year, upon his birth-day and for his mother a charlot to be drawn through the circus with the title of Augusta, which had been refused by his grandmother 1 To the memory of his brother to which upon all occasions, he showed a great regard, ho gave a Greek comedy to be exhibited in the public diversions at Naples, and awarded the crown for it, according to the sentence of the judges in that solemnity Nor did he omit to make honographo and grateful mention of Mark Antony declaring by a proclamation That he the more carnestly instated upon the observation of his father Drusus a birth-day, because it was likewise that of his grand father Antony" He completed the marble arch near Pompey's theatre, which had formerly been decreed by the sensie in honour of Tibernus, but which had been neglected 'And though he cancelled all the sets of Calna, yet he forbed the day of his assessination, notwithstanding it was that of his own accession to the empire, to be reckaned amongst the festivals.

VII. But with regard to his own aggrandisement, he was sparing and modest, declining the title of emperor and refunng all excessive honours. He celebrated the marriage of his daughter and the birth-day of a grandson with great privacy at home. He recalled none of those who had been leanished, without a decree of the senate and requested of them permission for the prefect of the mintary tribunes and pretorian guards to attend him in the senate-bouse f and

<sup>1</sup> See Augustus, ec. xlill., xlv 1 Ib. c. cl., 1 Germanicus.

A Naples and other cities on that court were Greek colonies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This arch was excited in memory of the standards (the exploy) both by Varus, in Germany having been recovered by Germanica under the ampices of Tiberins. Eee his Life, a. tivit., and Tasti. Amed. it. 41 is seems to have stood at the foot of the Capitol, on the side of the Forum, near the itempo of Concernf. but there are no results on the

<sup>\*</sup> Tacitus informs us that the same application had been made by

also that they would be pleased to bestow upon his procurators judicial authority in the provinces. He asked of
the consuls likewise the privilege of holding fairs upon his
private estate. He frequently assisted the magistrates in the
trial of causes, as one of their assessors. And when they
gave public spectacles, he would rise up with the rest of the
spectators, and salute them both by words and gestures.
When the tribunes of the people came to him while he was
on the tribunal, he excused himself, because, on account of the
crowd, he could not hear them unless they stood. In a short
time, by this conduct, he wrought himself so much into the
favour and affection of the public, that when, upon his going
to Ostia, a report was spread in the city that he had been
way-laid and slain, the people never ceased cursing the soldiers
for traitors, and the senate as parricides, until one or two
persons, and presently after several others, were brought by
the magistrates upon the rostra, who assured them that he
was alive, and not far from the city, on his way home

XIII Conspiracies, however, were formed against him, not only by individuals separately, but by a faction, and at last his government was disturbed with a civil war. A low fellow was found with a poniard about him, near his chamber, at midnight. Two men of the equestrian order were discovered waiting for him in the streets, armed with a tuck and a huntsman's dagger, one of them intending to attack him as he came out of the theatre, and the other as he was sacrificing in the temple of Mars. Gallus Asinius and Statilius Corvinus, grandsons of the two orators, Pollio and Messala, formed a conspiracy against him, in which they engaged many of his freedmen and slaves. Furius Camillus Scribonianus, his lieutenant in Dalmatia, broke into rebellion, but was reduced in

Therms Annal in The prefect of the pretorian guards, high and important as his office had now become, was not allowed to enter the senate-house, unless he belonged to the equestrial order

The procurators had the administration of some of the less important provinces, with rank and authority inferior to that of the pro-consuls and prefects Frequent mention of these officers is made by Josephus, and Pontius Pilate, who sentenced our Lord to crucifixion, held that office in Judæa, under Tiberius

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pollio and Messala were distinguished orators, who flourished under the Cæsars Julius and Augustus

the space of five days the legions which he had seduced from their eath of fidelity relinquishing their purpose upon an starm occasioned by ill omnus. For when orders wergiven them to march to meet their new emperor the englescould not be decorated, nor the standards pulled out of the ground whether it was by accident or a dirine interposition.

VIV Bendes his former consulship he held the office after wards four times the first two successively that the follow ing after an interval of four years each the last for aix months the others for two and the third upon his being chos a in the room of a consul who died which had never been done by any of the emperors before him. Whether he was consulor out of office he constantly attended the courts for the al mini tration of justice even upon such days as were solemuly observed as days of rejoicing in his family or by his friends and sometimes upon the public festivals of ancient institution hor did he always adhere strictly to the letter of the laws but overruled the rigour or lenty of many of their constment according to his sentiments of justice and equity. For where persons lost their suits by insisting upon more than appeared to be their due before the judges of private causes, he granted them the indulgence of a second trial. And with regard to such as were convicted of any great delinquency his oven ex corded the punishment appointed by law and condemned them to be exposed to wild beasts.3

VV But in hearing and determining causes, he exhibited a strange inconsistency of temper being at one time circumspect and segacious, at another inconsiderate and rash and sometimes frivolous, and like one out of his mind. In correcting the roll of judges, he struck off the name of one who conceal ing the privilege his children gave him to be excused from serving had answered to his name as too cogor for the office. Another who was summend before him in a cause of his own, but alleged that the affair did not properly come under the

<sup>1</sup> a no 793, 790
2 a note 600, 804
2 a No destina" had become a new and frequent sentence for malefactors. It will be recollected, that it was the most must form of merry dom for the primitive Christians. Polycarp was brought all the way from Knyrau to be appealed to it the amphilibrative it Rome.

emperor's cognizance, but that of the ordinary judges, he ordered to plead the cause himself immediately before him, and show in a case of his own, how equitable a judge he would prove in that of other persons. A woman refusing to acknowledge her own son, and there being no clear proof on either side, he obliged her to confess the truth, by ordering her to marry the young man. He was much inclined to determine causes in favour of the parties who appeared, against those who did not, without inquiring whether their absence was occasioned by their own fault, or by real necessity On proelamation of a man's being convicted of forgery, and that he ought to have his hand cut off, he missted that an executioner should be immediately sent for, with a Spanish sword and a block A person being prosecuted for falsely assuming the freedom of Rome, and a frivolous dispute arising between the advocates in the cause, whether he ought to make his appearance in the Roman or Grecian dress, to show his impartiality, he commanded him to change his clothes several times according to the character he assumed in the accusation or defence. An anecdote is related of him, and believed to be true, that, in a particular cause, he delivered his sentence in writing thus "I am in favour of those who have spoken the truth " By this he so much forfeited the good opinion of the world, that he was everywhere and openly despised. A person making an excuse for the non-appearance of a witness whom he had sent for from the provinces, declared it was impossible for him to appear, concealing the reason for some time at last, after several interrogatories were put to him on the subject, he answered, "The man is dead," to which Claudius replied, "I think that is a sufficient excuse" Another thanking him for suffering a person who was prosecuted to make his defence by counsel, added, "And yet it is no more than what is usual" I have likewise heard some old men say, that the advocates used to abuse his patience so grossly, that they would not only

<sup>1</sup> This reminds us of the decision of Solomon in the case of the two mothers, who each claimed a child as their own, 1 Kings in 22-27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A most absurd judicial conclusion, the business of the judge or court being to decide, on weighing the evidence, on which side the truth pre ponderated

See the note in Caligula, c xix, as to Suctonius's sources of in formation from persons cotemporary with the occurrences he relates

call him back, as he was quitting the tribunal but would seize him by the lap of his coat, and sometimes catch him by the heels, to make him stay. That such behaviour however strange is not incredible will appear from this ancedote. Some obscure Greek, who was a litigant, had an altereation with him, in which he called out. You aroun old fool. It is certain that a Roman kinght, who was procecuted by an importent device of his encemies on a falso charge of abominable obscenity with women, observing that common strumpets were summoned against him and allowed to give evidence, upbraided Clandina in very harsh and sovere terms with his fally and cruelty and throw his style and some books which he had in his hands, in his face, with such violence as to wound him soverely in the check.

XVI. He likewise assumed the consorship, which had been discontinued since the time that Paulus and Planeus had jointly hold it. But this also he administered very un equally and with a strange variety of hamour and conduct. In his review of the knights, he passed over without any mark of disgrace a profligate young man only because his father spoke of him in the highest terms for said he his father is his proper censor Another who was infamous for de bauching youths and for adultory he only admonished ' to indules his youthful inclinations more sparingly or at least more enutiously adding why must I know what mistress When at the request of his friends, he had vou keep? taken off a mark of infamy which he had set upon one knight s name he said. Let the blot, however remain. only struck out of the list of judges, but likewise deprived of the freedom of Rome an illustrious man of the highest provincial rank in Greece, only because he was ignorant of the Latin language. Nor in this review did he suffer any one to give an account of his conduct by an advocate but obliged each men to speak for himself in the best way he could. He disgraced many and some that little expected it, and for a reason entirely new namely for going out of Italy without his license;

<sup>1</sup> The insult was conveyed in Greek, which seems from Sactonius, to have been in very common use at Rome: καὶ σὰ γἰρω εἰ, καὶ μωρές β Α.π.α. 700, or 800.

There was a proverb to the same effect : " Si non caste, saltem caste,"

and one likewise, for having in his province been the familia: companion of a king, observing, that, in former times, Rabirius Posthumus had been prosecuted for treason, although he only went after Ptolemy to Alexandria for the purpose of seeuring payment of a debt 1 Having tried to brand with disgraco several others, he, to his own greater shame, found them generally innocent, through the negligence of the persons em ployed to inquiro into their characters, those whom he charged with living in eclibacy, with want of children, or estate, proving themselves to be husbands, parents, and in affluent circumstances One of the knights who was charged with stabbing himself, laid his bosom baie, to show that there was not the least mark of violence upon his body. The following meidents were remarkable in his censorship. He ordered a ear, plated with silver, and of very sumptuous workmanship, which was exposed for sale in the Sigillaria,2 to be purchased, and broken in pieces before his eyes. He published twenty proclamations in one day, in one of which he advised the people, "Since the vintage was very plentiful, to have their easks well secured at the bung with pitch" and in another, he told them, "that nothing would sooner eure the bite of a viper, than the sap of the yew-tree"

XVII He undertook only one expedition, and that was of short duration. The triumphal ornaments decreed him by the senate, he considered as beneath the imperial dignity, and was therefore resolved to have the honour of a real triumph. For this purpose, he selected Britain, which had never been attempted by any one since Julius Cæsar, and was then chafing

Opposed to this statement there is a passage in Servius Georgius, in Comparison that he had heard (accipinus) that Augustus, besides

<sup>1</sup> Ptolems appointed him to an office which led him to assume a foreign dress. Rabirius was defended by Cicero in one of his orations, which is extant

The Sigillaria was a street in Rome, where a fair was held after the Saturnalia, which lasted seven days, and toys, consisting of little images and dolls, which gave their name to the street and festival, were sold. It appears from the text, that other articles were exposed for sale in this street. Among these were included elegant vases of silver and bronze. There appears also to have been a bookseller's shop, for an ancient writer tells us that a friend of his showed him a copy of the Second Book of the Æneid, which he had purchased there

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with rage because the Romans would not give up some decerters. Accordingly he set sail from Ostin, but was twice very near being wrecked by the bosterous wind called Circius, noon the coast of Lugura and near the islands called Stee-lades. Having marched by land from Marseilles to Gessonacum, he thence parsed over to Britain, and part of the island submitting to him within a few days after his arrival, without battle or bloodshed, he returned to Rome in less than six months from the time of his departure and trumphed in the most solum manner; to witness which, he not only

his victories in the cast, triumphed over the Britans in the west; and Horaco says:---

Augustus adjectis Bri.au.ls Imperio granbusque Persla.—Ode ill. 3-1

Strabo likewise informs on, that in his time, the petty British Mage seast embassies to collivate the elliance of Augustius, and make offerings in the Capitol: and that searly the whole hiand was on terms of amiry with the Romann, and, as well as the Osais, paid a light tribute.—Strake, B. iv p. 139

That Augustus contemplated a descrat on the hland, but was prevented from attempting it by his being recalled from Gaul by the disturbances in Dalmatia, it very probable. Hornec offers his vows for its surcess:

## Serves Iturum, Caracrem in ultimos Orbis Britannos.—Ode L 35

But the word starms shows that the scheme was only projected, and the lines perstocally quoted are more poetful failtery. Strains statement of the communications kept up with the petty kings of Britain who were perhaps directed by intestine wars are, to a certain steat, probably correct, as such a policy would be a prefulsy to the intended expedition.

Circles Aulus Gellius, Senecs, and Pliny mention under this name ties strong southerly gains which prevail in the gulf of G non and the neighborring sens.

The Stochades were the Islands now called Hieres off Toulou.

a Claudies must have expended more time in his march from Mar sellles to Gesoricawa, as Boologue was then called, than in his vaunted congress of Britain.

<sup>4</sup> In point of fact, he was only altreen days I the Island, receiving the rubushood of some tribes in the nouth-eastern districts. But the way had been prepared for him by this able go eral, Aulus Plautius, who defeated Concheline, and made himself master of his cryital, Camudodraum, or Colchester. These successes were I llowed up by Ostorius, who computed Caracterias and sea thin to Rome.

It is singular that Suctories has supplied us with so particulars of

gave leave to governors of provinces to come to Rome, but even to some of the exiles. Among the spoils taken from the enemy, he fixed upon the pediment of his house in the Palatium, a naval crown, in token of his having passed, and, as it were, conquered the Ocean, and had it suspended near the civic crown which was there before. Messalina, his wife, followed his chariot in a covered litter. Those who had attained the honour of triumphal ornaments in the same war, rode behind; the rest followed on foot, wearing the robe with the broad stripes. Crassus Frugi was mounted upon a horse richly caparisoned, in a robe embroidered with palm leaves, because this was the second time of his obtaining that honour

XVIII He paid particular attention to the care of the city, and to have it well supplied with provisions. A dreadful fire happening in the Æmiliana, which lasted some time, he passed two nights in the Diribitorium, and the soldiers and gladiators not being in sufficient numbers to extinguish it, he caused the magistrates to summon the people out of all the streets in the city, to their assistance. Placing bags of money before him, he encouraged them to do their utmost, declaring, that he would reward every one on the spot, according to their exertions.

XIX During a scarcity of provisions, occasioned by bad crops for several successive years, he was stopped in the middle of the forum by the mob, who so abused him, at the same time pelting him with fragments of bread, that he had some

these events Some account of them is given in the disquisition appended to this life of Caligula

The expedition of Plantius took place Auc 796, AD 44

1 Carpentum see note in Caligula, c xv

<sup>2</sup> The Æmiliana, so called because it contained the monuments of the family of that name, was a suburb of Rome, on the Via Lata, outside the

gate

3 The Diribitorium was a house in the Flaminian Circus, begun by Agrippa, and finished by Augustus, in which soldiers were mustered and their pay distributed, from whence it derived its name. When the Romans went to give their votes at the election of magistrates, they were conducted by officers named Diribitores. It is possible that one and the same building may have been used for both purposes.

The Flaminian Circus was without the city walls, in the Campus Mer.

tius. The Roman college now stands on its site

difficulty in escaping into the raince by a back door. He therefore used all possible means to bring provisions to the city oven in the winter. He proposed to the merchants a sure profit, by indemnifying them against any loss that might befall them by storms at sea and granted great privileges to those who built ships for that traffic. To a citizen of Rome he gave an exemption from the penalty of the Papia Poppean law 1 to one who had only the privilege of Latium the freedom of the city and to women the rights which by law belonged to those who had four children which ensetments are in force to this day

VX. He completed some important public works, which, though not numerous, were very useful. The principal were an aqueduct, which had been begun by Caius an emissary for the discharge of the waters of the Fucine lake and the harbour of Ostic although he knew that Augustus had refused to comply with the repeated application of the Marmans for one of these and that the other had been several times intended by Julius Carsor but as often abandoned on account of the difficulty of its execution. He brought to the city the cool and plentiful springs of the Claudian water one of which is called Curuleus, and the other Curtius and Alba dings, as likewise the rever of the New Anio in a stone canal and distributed them into many magnificent reservoirs. The conal from the Fucine lake was undertaken as much for the sake of profit, as for the honour of the enterprise for there were parties who offered to drain it at their own expense on condition of their having a grant of the land laid dry With great difficulty he completed a canal three miles in length partly by cutting through and partly by tunuclling a moun tain thirty thousand men being constantly employed in the work for oleven years. He formed the harbour at Octia, by carrying out circular piers on the right and on the left with

A law brought in by the consult Papies Mutiline and Quintus Poppers; respecting which, see Augustus, c, xxxiv

<sup>\*</sup> The Facine Lake is now called Lago dl Calano in the Farther Abrual. It is very extensive but shallow so that the difficulty of conatment g the Chaedian emissary can scarcely be compared to that encountered in a similar work for lowering the lavel of the waters in the Alban take, completed a.v.o. 339

<sup>.</sup> Respecting the Claudian squeduct, see Califorda C. XXI.

a mole pretecting, in deep water, the entrance of the port. To secure the foundation of this mole, he sunk the vessel in which the great obelisk had been brought from Egypt, and built upon piles a very lofty tower, in imitation of the Pharos at Alexandria, on which lights were burnt to direct mariners in the night

XXI He often distributed largesses of corn and money among the people, and entertained them with a great variety of public magnificent spectacles, not only such as were usual, and in the accustomed places, but some of new invention, and others revived from ancient models, and exhibited in places where nothing of the kind had been ever before attempted. In the games which he presented at the dedication of Pompey's theatre, which had been buint down, and was rebuilt by him, he presided upon a tribunal erected for him in the orehestra, having first paid his devotions, in the temple above, and then coming down through the centre of the ericle, while all the people kept their seats in profound silence. He likewise

exhibited the secular games, giving out that Augustus had anticipated the regular period, though he himself says in his history. That they had been omitted before the age of Augustn who had calculated the years with great exactness. and again brought them to their regular period "1 erier was theref to ridiculed, when he invited people in the usual form to games which no person had ever before seen nor ever would again when many were still living who had alrea ly seen them and some of the performers who had formerly acted in them were now again I rought upon the stage. He likewise frequently cel brated the (irren ian games in the Vatican, sometimes exhibiting a liont of wild ben to after every five courses. He embelli had the Circus Maximus with mart le larriers and golded gools, which before were of common stone and wood and assigned proper places for the senators, who were used to sit promisenously with the other spectators. Bondes the charact ruces he exhibited there the Trojan game, and wild beasts from Africa, which were en countered by a troop of pretorion knights, with their tribunes and even the prefect at the head of them besides Thessalian horse who drive fleree bulls round the circus, leap upon their backs when they have exhausted their fury and drug them by the horns to the ground. He gave exhibitions of gladiators in several places, and of various kinds one yearly on the anni versary of his secusion in the pretorian camp, but without any hunting or the usual appearatus another in the Septa as neual and in the same place another out of the common war and of a few days continuance only which he called Sportula because when he was going to present it, he informed the people by proclamation that he livited them to a late surper got up in haste and without ceremony. Nor did he lend himself to any kind of public direction with more freedom and hilarity insomuch that he would hold out his left hand, and

CLAEDILA.

<sup>1</sup> A.V.A. 800

The Secular Games had been celebrated by Augustos, a.u. c. 736, Sec. c. xxxi. of his life, and the Epode of Horazo written on the occasion.
In the circus which his had hiswelf built.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Trakine r. Tuffo, a perous stors of volcanic origin, which abounds in the neighbourhood of Roms, and, with the Travertino, is employed in all common huldings.

In compliment to the troops to whom he owed his elevation; see before, c. xi.

joined by the common people, count upon his fingers aloud the gold pieces presented to those who came off conquerors He would carnestly invite the company to be merry, sometimes calling them his "masters," with a mixture of insipid, far-fetched jests. Thus, when the people called for Palumbus, he said, "He would give them one when he could catch it" The following was well-intended, and well-timed, having, amidst great applause, spared a gladiator, on the intercession of his four sons, he sent a billet immediately round the theatre, to remind the people, "how much it behaved them to get children, since they had before them an example how useful they had been in procuring favour and security for a gladiator" He likewise represented in the Campus Martius, the assault and sacking of a town, and the surrender of the British kings,2 presiding in his general's cloak Immediately before he drew off the waters from the Fucine lake, he exhibited upon it a naval fight But the combatants on board the fleets crying out, "Health attend you, noble emperor! We, who are about to peril our lives, salute you," and he replying, "Health attend you too," they all refused to fight, as if by that response he had meant to excuse them Upon this, he hesitated for a time, whether he should not destroy them all with fire and sword At last, leaping from his seat, and running along the shore of the lake with tottering steps, the result of his foul excesses, he, partly by fair words, and partly by threats, persuaded them to engage This spectacle represented an engagement between the fleets of Sicily and Rhodes, consisting each of twelve ships of war, of three banks of oars. The signal for the encounter was given by a silver Triton, raised by machinery from the middle of the lake

XXII With regard to religious ceremonies, the administration of affairs both civil and military, and the condition of all orders of the people at home and abroad, some practices he corrected, others which had been laid aside he revived, and some regulations he introduced which were entirely new In appointing new priests for the several colleges, he made no appointments without being sworn. When an earthquake

<sup>1</sup> Palumbus was a gladiator and Claudius condescended to pun upon his name, which signifies a wood-pigeon
2 See before, c xvii Described in c xx and note

happened in the city he never failed to summon the people together by the preter and appoint holidays for sacred rates. And upon the sight of any ominous that in the City or Capitol, he issued an order for a supplication, the words of which, by virtue of his office of high priest, after an exhortation from the restm, he recited in the presence of the people who repeated them after him all workmen and slaves being first ordered to withdraw

CXIII The courts of judicature whose sittings had been formerly divided between the summer and winter months, he ordered for the dispatch of business, to sit the whole year round. The jurisdiction in matters of trust, which used to be granted anually by special commission to certain magnitudes, and in the city only he made permanent, and extended to the provincial judgeslikewise. He altered aclause added by Tibernus to the Paylai oppean law which inferred that men of sixty years of age were incapable of begetting children. He are directly that out of the ordinary course of proceeding orphans might have guardians appointed them by the counts and that those who were busined from any province by the chief magistrate should be debarred from coming into the City or any part of Italy. He inflicted on certain persons a new sort of banishment, by furbidding them to depart further than three miles from flowe. When my affair of importance come before the senate, he used to sit between the two consuls upon the seats of the tribunes. He reserved to himself the power of granting license to travel out of Italy which before had belonged to the senate.

XXIV Ho likewise granted the consular ornaments to his Ducemanan procurators. From those who declined the sena torian dignity he took away the equestram. Although he had in the beginning of his reign declared, that he would admit no man into the senate who was not the great-grandson of a Roman editizen yet he gave the broad hem to the son of a freedman, or condition that he should be udopted by a Roman knight Boling afraid, however of incurring censure by such an act, he informed the public, that his ancestor Applied Cours, the censor had elected the sens of freedmen into

<sup>1</sup> See before Apopurus, c. xxxiv

the senate, for he was ignorant, it seems, that in the times of Appius, and a long while afterwards, persons manumitted were not called freedmen, but only their sons who were free-born. Instead of the expense which the college of quæstors was obliged to incur in paving the high-ways, he ordered them to give the people an exhibition of gladiators, and relieving them of the provinces of Ostia and [Cisalpine] Gaul, he reinstated them in the charge of the treasury, which, since it was taken from them, had been managed by the prætors, or those who had formerly filled that office. He gave the triumphal ornaments to Silanus, who was betrothed to his daughter, though he was under age, and in other eases, he bestowed them on so many, and with so little reserve, that there is extant a letter unanimously addressed to him by all the legions, begging him "to grant his consular lieutenants the triumphal ornaments at the time of their appointment to commands, in order to prevent their seeking occasion to engage in unnecessary wars." He decreed to Aulus Plautius the honour of an ovation, going to meet him at his entering the city, and walking with him in the procession to the Capitol, and back, in which he took the left side, giving him the post of honour. He allowed Gabinius Secundus, upon his conquest of the Chauci, a German tribe, to assume the cognomen of Chaucius.

XXV His military organization of the equestrian order was this. After having the command of a cohort, they were promoted to a wing of auxiliary horse, and subsequently received the commission of tribune of a legion. He raised a body of militia, who were called Supernumeraries, who, though they were a sort of soldiers, and kept in reserve, yet received pay. He procured an act of the senate to prohibit all soldiers from attending senators at their houses, in the way of respect and compliment. He confiscated the estates of all freedmen who presumed to take upon themselves the equestrian rank. Such of them as were ungrateful to their patrons, and were complained of by them, he reduced to their former condition of

<sup>1</sup> To reward his able services as commander of the army in Britain. See before, c vii

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> German tribes between the Elbe and the Weser, whose chief seat was at Bremen, and others about Ems or Luneburg

slavery and declared to their a brocates that he would alwars give judgment again t the freedmen in any suit at law which the mat re might happen t have with them. Some persons having exposed their slek slave in a languishing condition on the island of Esculaptus I because of the tectousness of their cure he derlared all who were a expected perfectly free never more to return if they should recover to their former servitude; and that if any one chose to kill at once rather than expose a slave he should be halle for murd r. He pullished a proclamation forlidding all travellers to me a throu h the towns of Italy any otherwise than on foot or in a litter or chair ! He quartered a cohort of soldiers at Putcols and another of Ostia, to be in readiners against any accidents from fire. He prohibited foreigners from adopting Homan names especially those which tel nged to families. These who falkly pretended to the freedom of Rome be behended on the Faquiline He gave up to the senate the provinces of Achain and Macedonia, which Tilerius had transferred to his own administration. Its deprived the Lycians of their liberties, as a punishment for their fatal discosions but restored to the Ithedians their freedom upon their repenting of their former muslementers. He exercised for ever the people of Ilium from the payment of taxes, as being the founders of the Roman race reciting upon the oceanon a letter in Greek

It was common for the patient after having been exposed some nights in the temple, without being cured, to depart and put an ead to his life. Sustantes here informs us that slaves so exposed, at least obtained their feredom.

" See the note in c. I. of this life of CLAPDIUS.

<sup>1</sup> This bland in the Tiber opposite the Campus Martins, is said to have been formed by the cens now by Targiba the Prood on that conservated field, and cut down and thrown by order of the cossist him to the ri or The water being low it lodged to the best of the stream and gradual deposits of mad raid g it above the level of the water is was in course of time covered with buildings. Among these was the temple of Alexahpius, exceted Auro. 462, to receive the exerpant, the emblem of that deity which was brought to Room in the time of a plague. There is a coss of Antonhurs Pius recording this event, and Lumidon has preserved copies of some curious votive inceriptions in schroyledgment of cures which were found in the role Artisyleties of Room p 31.

Which were carried on the shoulders of slaves. This prohibition had for its object either to save the wear and tear in the narrow streta, or to pay respect to the liberties of the town.

from the senate and people of Rome to king Seleueus, on which they promised him their friendship and alliance, provided that he would grant their kinsmen the Iliensians immu-

nity from all burdens

He banished from Rome all the Jaws, who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus. He allowed the ambassadors of the Germans to sit at the public spectacles in the seats assigned to the senators, being induced to grant them favours by their frank and honourable conduct. For, having been seated in the rows of benches which were common to the people, on observing the Parthian and Armenian ambassadors sitting among the senators, they took upon themselves to cross over into the same seats, as being, they said, no way inferior to the others, in point either of merit or rank. The religious rites of the Druids, solemnized with such horrid cruelties, which had only been forbidden the citizens of Rome during the reign of Augustus, he utterly abolished among the Gauls.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, he attempted

<sup>1</sup> Seleucus Philopater, son of Antiochus the Great, who being conquered by the Romans, the succeeding kings of Syria acknowledged the

supremacy of Rome

Suctionus has already, in Tiberius, c. xxxvi, mentioned the expulsion of the Jews from Rome, and this passage confirms the conjecture, offered in the note, that the Christians were obscurely alluded to in the former notice. The antagonism between Christianity and Judaism appears to have given rise to the tumults which first led the authorities to interfere. Thus much we seem to learn from both passages but the most enlightened men of that age were singularly ill-informed on the stupendous events which had recently occurred in Judea, and we find Suetonius, although he lived at the commencement of the first century of the Christian æra, when the memory of these occurrences was still fresh, and it might be supposed, by that time, widely diffused, transplanting Christ from Jerusalem to Rome, and placing him in the time of Claudius, although the crucifixion took place during the reign of Tiberius

St Luke, Acts xviii 2, mentions the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by the emperor Claudius Dio, however, says that he did not expel them.

but only forbad their religious assemblies

It was very natural for Suetonius to write Chrestus instead of Christus, as the former was a name in use among the Greeks and Romans Among others, Cicero mentions a person of that name in his Fam Ep 11 8

<sup>3</sup> Pliny tells us that Druidism had its origin in Gaul, and was transplanted into Britain, xxi 1 Julius Cæsar asserts just the contrary, Bell Gall vi 13, 11 The edict of Claudius was not carried into effect, at least, we find vestiges of Druidism in Gaul, during the reigns of Nero and Alexander Severus

to transfer the Elecutian mysteries from Attica to Rome. Itselfs which was ordered the temple of Venus Erycina in Sielly which was old and in a ruinous condition to be repaired at the expense of the Roman people. He concluded treaties with foreign princes in the forum, with the samifice of a sow and the form of words used by the heralds in former time. But in these and other things, and indeed the greater part of his administration, he was directed not so much by his own judg ment, as by the influence of his wives and freedmen for the most part acting in conformity to what their interests or funcies dictated.

XXVI He was twice married at a very early age first to Æmilia Lepida, the grand-daughter of Augustus, and after wards to Livia Medulina, who had the cornomen of Camilla, and was descended from the old dictator Camillas he divorced while still a virgin because her parents had in curred the displeasure of Augustus; and he lost the latter by sickness on the day fixed for their nuptials. He next married Plautia Urgulanilla, whose father had enjoyed the honour of a triumph and soon afterwards, Alia Proting, the daughter of a man of consular rank. But he divorced them both Potina. upon some trifling causes of disgust and Urgulanilla, for scandalous lewdness, and the suspicion of murder After them he took in marriage Valeria Messalina, the daughter of Barbatus Messala, his cousin. But finding that, besides her other shameful deba scheries, she had even gone so far as to marry in his own absence Calus Bilius, the settlement of her dower being formally signed in the presence of the augura, he put her to death. When summoning his protorians to his presence he made to them this declaration: 'As I have been so unhappy in my unions, I am resolved to continue in future unmarried; and if I should not, I give you leave to stab me"
He was, however unable to persist in this resolution for he began immediately to think of another wafe and even of taking back Pretina, whom he had formurly divorced he thought also of Lollas Paulius, who had been married to Coius Cosor But being engaged by the arts of Agrippins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Eleusialan mysteries were sever transferred from Atheas te Root, notwithstanding talk attempt of Claudius, and although Aurelian Victor says that Adrian effected it.

the daughter of his brother Germaniens, who took advantage of the kisses and endearments which their near relation-hip admitted, to inflame his desires, he got some one to propose at the next meeting of the senate, that they should oblige the emperor to marry Agrippina, as a measure highly conducte to the public interest, and that in future liberty should be given for such marriages, which until that time had been considered meestious. In less than twenty-four hours after this, he married her. No person was found, however, to follow the example, excepting one freedman, and a centimon of the first rank, at the solemnization of whose nuptials both he and Agrippina attended

XXVII He had children by three of his wives by Urgulanilla, Drusus and Claudia, by Pætina, Antonia, and by Messalma, Octavia, and also a son, whom at first he called Germanicus, but afterwards Britannieus. He lost Drusus at Pompen, when he was very young, he being choked with a pear, which in his play he tossed into the au, and crught in his mouth. Only a few days before, he had betrothed him to one of Sejanus's daughters, and I am therefore surprised that some authors should say he lost his life by the treachers of Sejanus. Claudia, who was, in truth, the daughter of Boter his freedman, though she was born five months before his divorce, he ordered to be thrown naked at her mother's door. He married Antonia to Cherus Pompey the Great, and afterwards to Faustus Sylla, both youths of very noble parentage, Octavia to his step-son Nero, after she had been contracted to Silanus. Britannieus was born upon the twentieth day of his reign, and in his second consulship. He often earnestly commended him to the soldiers, holding him in his arms before their ranks, and would likewise show him to the people in the theatre, setting him upon his lap, or holding him out whilst he was still very young, and was sure to receive their acclamations, and good wishes on his behalf. Of his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> AUG 801 <sup>2</sup> AUC 773

<sup>3</sup> It would seem from this passage, that the cognomen of "the Great,' had now been restored to the descendants of Cneius Pompey, on whom it was first conferred

<sup>4</sup> AU C. 806

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sone in law he adopted here. He not only dismissed from his favour both Pompey and Silann but put them to death.

XXVIII Amongst his freedmen the greatest favorate was the cunnch Posides, whom in his British trinmph he precented with the pointless spear classing him among the mili tary men. Aext to him if not equal in favour was Felix. whom he not only preferred to commands both of coborts and troops, but to the government of the province of Judea and he became in consequence of his elevation the husband of three queens 2 Another favourite was Harpoems, to whom no granted the privilege of being carried in a litter within the city and of holding public spectacles for the entertainment of the people In this class was likewise folybius who assisted him in his studies, and had often the honour of walking between the two consult. But above all others, harrissus, his secretary and Pallas 2 the comptroller of his accounts, were in high favour with him. He not only allowed them to receive by decree of the senate immense presents, but also to be decornted with the quastorien and prestorien energies of honour So much did he indulge them in amassing wealth and plun dering the public, that, upon his complaining once, of the low ness of his exchequer some one said, with great reason, that It would be full enough if these two freedmen of his would

but take him into partnership with them.

XXIX Being entirely governed by these freedmen, and, as I have already said, by his wives, howas a tool to others, rather than a prince He distributed offices, or the command of armies. pardoned or punished, according as it suited their interests.

1 This is the Fellx mentioned in the Acts, co. xxill, and xxiv before whom St. Paul ploaded. He is mentioned by Josephus; and Tacitus, who

calls him Felix Antonius, gives his characters Asset y 9 6.

2 It appears that two of these wives of Felix were named Drusilla. One, mentioned Acts xxlv 24 and there called a Jawess, was the sister of king Arrippe, and had married before, Axizus, king of the Emersence. The other Drealls, though not a queen was of royal birth, being the grand daughter of Cleopatra by Mark Antony Who the third wife of Felix was, is unknown.

3 Tacitus and Josephus mention that Pallas was the brother of Felix, and the younger Pliny ridicules the pompous inscription on his touch.

their passions, or their caprice, and for the most part, without knowing, or being sensible of what he did Not to enter into minute details relative to the revocation of grants, the reversal of judicial decisions, obtaining his signature to fictitious appointments, or the bare-faced alteration of them after signing, he put to death Apprus Silanus, the father of his son-in-law, and the two Julias, the daughters of Drusus and Germanicus, without any positive proof of the crimes with which they were charged, or so much as permitting them to make any defence He also cut off Cneius Pompey, the husband of his eldest daughter, and Lucius Silanus, who was betrothed to the younger Pompey, was stabbed in the act of unnatural lewdness with a favourite paramour Silanus was obliged to quit the office of prætor upon the fourth of the calends of January [29th Dec], and to kill himself on new year's day' following, the very same on which Claudius and Agrippina were married He condemned to death five and thirty senators, and above three hundred Roman knights, with so little attention to what he did, that when a centurion brought him word of the execution of a man of consular rank, who was one of the number. and told him that he had executed his order, he declared, "he had ordered no such thing, but that he approved of it," because his freedmen, it seems, had said, that the soldiers did nothing more than their duty, in dispatching the emperor's enemies without waiting for a warrant But it is beyond all belief, that he himself, at the mairiage of Messalina with the adulterous Silius, should actually sign the writings relative to her dowry, induced, as it is pretended, by the design of diverting from himself and transferring upon another the danger which some omens seemed to threaten him

XXX Either standing or sitting, but especially when he lay asleep, he had a majestic and graceful appearance, for he was tall, but not slender His grey locks became him well, and he had a full neck. But his knees were feeble, and failed him in walking, so that his gait was ungainly, both when he assumed state, and when he was taking diversion. He was outrageous in his laughter, and still more so in his wrath, for then he foamed at the mouth, and discharged from his nostrils. He also stammered in his speech, and had a tremulous motion

of the head at all times, but particularly when no was engaged in any business, however triding

VNI Though his health was very infirm during the former part of his life yet, after he became emperor he enjoyed a good state of health, except only that he was subject to a pain of the stomach. In a fit of this complaint, he said he had thoughts of killing himself.

XXXII He gave entertanuments as frequent as they were splendid and generally when there was such ample room that very often six hundred guests sat down together. At a feast he gave on the banks of the canal for draining the Fucine Lake he narrowly escaped being drowned, the water at its discharge tashing out with such violence that if overflowed the conduit. At supper he had elways his own children with those of several of the nobility who eccording to an ancent custom sat at the feet of the couches. One of his guests having been suspected of purlenning a golden cup, he invited him again the next day but secred him with a percelain jug. It is said too, that he intended to publish an educt, allowing to all people the liberty of giving vent at table to any distension occasioned by flattlence upon hearing of a person whose modesty, when under restraint, had nearly cost him his life.

XXXIII. Ho was always ready to cut and drink at any time or in any place. One day as he was hearing causes in the forum of Augustus, he smelt the dinner which was preparing for the Sahi,' in the temple of Mars adjoining, whereupon he quitted

<sup>1</sup> The Sall the priests of Mara, twelve in number were instituted by Mana. Their dress was an embodiered tunke, bound with a girdle ornamented with brane. They were on their bread a conteal cap, of a considerable height, carried a sword by their side is their right hand a spear or rod, and in their left, one of the deselies, or shields of Mara. On solemn occasions, they used to go to the Capitot through the forms and other public parts of the city dunding and singing ascrete sungs said to have been composed by Nossa; which, in the time of Horse, could hardly be understood by any one, erea they priest themselves. The most solemn procession of the Sall was on the first of March in communication of the time when the sacred shield was believed to have fallen from loaves, in the relys of Nossa. After their procession they had a splendid entertainment, the lucary of which was proverbial.

the tribunal, and went to partake of the feast with the priests. He scarcely ever left the table until he had thoroughly erammed himself and drank to intoxication, and then he would immediately fall asleep, lying upon his back with his mouth open. While in this condition, a feather was put down his throat, to make him throw up the contents of his stomach. Upon composing himself to rest, his sleep was short, and he usually awoke before midnight, but he would sometimes sleep in the daytime, and that, even, when he was upon the tribunal, so that the advocates often found it difficult to wake him, though they raised their voices for that purpose. He set no bounds to his hibidinous intercourse with women, but never betrayed any unnatural desires for the other sex. He was fond of gaming, and published a book upon the subject. He even used to play as he rode in his chariot, having the tables so fitted, that the game was not disturbed by the motion of the carriage.

XXXIV His cruel and sanguinary disposition was exhibited upon great as well as trifling occasions When any person was to be put to the torture, or eriminal punished for parriede, he was impatient for the execution, and would have it performed in his ewn presence. When he was at Tibur, being desirous of seeing an example of the old way of putting malefactors to death, some were immediately bound to a stake for the purpose, but there being no executioner to be had at the place, he sent for one from Rome, and waited for his coming until night. In any exhibition of gladiators, presented either by himself or others, if any of the combatants chanced to fall, he ordered them to be butchered, especially the Retiarri, that he might see their faces in the agonies of death gladiators happening to kill each other, he immediately ordered some little knives to be made of their swords for his own use He took great pleasure in seeing men engage with wild beasts, and the combatants who appeared on the stage at noon Ho would therefore come to the theatro by break of day, and at noon, dismissing the people to dinner, continued sitting himself, and besides those who were devoted to that sanguinary fate, he would match others with the beasts, upon slight or sudden occasions, as, for instance, the earpenters and their sasistants, and people of that sort, if a machine or any piece of work in which they had been employed about the theatrn did not answer the purpose for which it had been intended. To this desperate kind of encounter he forced one of his nomenclators, even encountered as he was by wearing the togn

XXXV But the characteristics most predominant in him were fear and distrust. In the beginning of his reign though he much affected a modest and humble appearance as has been already observed yet he durst not venture himself at an ent r tainment without being attended by a guard of spearmen and made soldiers wait upon him at table in tend of servents never visited a nick person until the chamber had been first searched, and the bed and bedding thoroughly examined other times, all persons who came to pay their court to him were strictly searched by officers appointed for that purpose nor was it until after a long time and with much difficulty that he was prevalled upon to excuse women boys and girls from such rude handling, or suffer their attendants or writing masters to retain their cases for pens and styles. When Ca millus formed his plot against him, not doubting but his timidity might be worked upon without a war he wrote to him a sourrilous, petulant, and threatening letter desiring him to resign the government, and betake himself to a life of privacy Upon receiving this requisition, he had some thoughts of complying with it, and summoned together the principal men of the city to consult with them on the subject,

XXXVI Having heard some loose reports of complicates formed against him, he was so much alarmed, that he thought of immediately abdicating the government. And when as I have before related a man armed with n dagger was discovered near him while he was sarrificing he instantly ordered the heralds to convoke the senate, and with tears and dismal exclamations, lamented that such was his condition that he was safe no where and for a long time afterwards he abstained from appearing in public. He smothered his ardent love for Mescalina, not so much on account of her infamous conduct, as from apprehension of danger believing that she captived to share with Shins, her partner in sadulery, he imperial dig

mity Upon this occasion he ran in a great fright, and a very shameful manner, to the camp, asking all the way he went, "if the empire were indeed safely his?"

XXXVII No suspicion was too trifling, no person on whom it rested too contemptible, to throw him into a panic, and induce him to take precautions for his safety, and meditate re-A man engaged in a litigation before his tribunal, having saluted him, drew him aside, and told him he had dreamt that he saw him murdered, and shortly afterwards, when his adversary came to deliver his plea to the emperor, the plaintiff, pretending to have discovered the murderer, pointed to him as the man he had seen in his dream, whereupon, as it he had been taken in the act, he was hurried away to execution. We are informed, that Appius Silanus was got rid of in the same manner, by a contrivance betwixt Messalina and Narcissus, in which they had their several parts assigned them. Narcissus therefore burst into his lord's chamber before daylight, apparently in great fright, and told him that he had dreamt that Approx Silanus had murdered him The empress, upon this, affecting great surprise, declared she had the like dream for several nights successively Presently afterwards, word was brought, as it had been agreed on, that Applus was come, he having, indeed, received orders the preceding day to be there at that time, and, as if the truth of the dream was sufficiently confirmed by his appearance at that juncture, he was immediately ordered to be prosecuted and put to death The day following, Claudius related the whole affair to the senate, and acknowledged his great obligation to his freedmen for watching over him even in his sleep

XXXVIII Sensible of his being subject to passion and resentment, he excused himself in both instances by a proclamation, assuring the public that "the former should be short and harmless, and the latter never without good cause" After severely reprimanding the people of Ostia for not sending some boats to meet him upon his entering the mouth of the Tiber, in terms which might expose them to the public resentment, he wrote to Rome that he had been treated as a private person, yet immediately afterwards he pardoned them, and that in a way which had the appearance of making them

saturaction, or begging pardon for some injury he had done them. Some people who addressed him nowasonably in pubhe, he pushed away with his own hand He likewise lanished a person who had been recretary to a quastor and even a senator who had filled the office of practor without a hearing, and although they were innecent the former only because he had treated him with rudeness while he was in a private station, and the other because in his redileship he had fined some tenants of his, for selling cooked victuals contrary to law and ordered his steward, who interfered, to be whipped On this account, likewise he took from the redules the jurisdiction they had over cooks shops. He did not a ruide to speak of his own absordities, and declared in some short speeches which he published that he had only I igned imbeellity in the reign of Cain because otherwise it would have been impossible for him to have escaped and arrived at the station he had then attained. He could not, however gain credit for this assertion; for a short time afterwards a book was published under the title of Mayor diagram, The Resur rection of Fools," the design of which was to show that no body ever counterfelted folly

XXXIX Amongst other things, people admired in him his indifference and unconcern; or to express it in Greek his meramia and aBla-bia. Placing himself at tal lo a little ofter Messalina s death, he cuquired, Why the empress did not come? Many of these whom he had condemned to death he ordered the day after to be invited to his table and to game with him, and sent to reprimand them as sluggish fel lows for not making greater haste. When he was meditating his incestuous marriago with Agrippina, he was perpetually calling her 'My daughter my nursilug born and brought up upon my lan And when he was going to adopt here as if there was little cause for consure in his adopting a son inlaw, when he had a son of his own arrived at years of matu rity; he continually gave out in public, that no one hac ever been admitted by adoption into the Claudian family

XI. He frequently appeared so careless in what he said and so inattentive to circumstances, that it was believed he never reflected who he himself was, or amongst whom, or at what time, or in what place, he spoke. In a debute in the senate relative to the butchers and vintners, he cried out, "I ask you, who can live without a bit of meat " And mentioned the great plenty of old taverns, from which he himself used formerly to have his wine. Among other reasons for his supporting a certain person who was candidate for the questorship, he gave this "His father," sind he, "once give me, very seasonably, a draught of cold water when I was sick." Upon his bringing a woman as a witness in some cause before the senate, ho said, "This woman was my mother's freedwoman and dresser, but she always considered me as her master, and this I say, because there are some still in my family that do not look upon me as such " The people of Ostia addressing him in open court with a petition, he flew into a rage at them, and said, "There is no reason why I should oblige you if any one elso is free to act as ho pleases, surely I am" The following expressions he had in his mouth every day, and at all hours and seasons "What! do you take me for a Theo-And in Greek λάλει και μή θιγγανε, "Speak, but do not touch mo," besides many other familiar sentences, below the dignity of a private person, much more of an emperer, who was not deficient either in eloquence or learning, as having applied himself very closely to the liberal sciences

XLI By the oncouragement of Titus Livius,<sup>2</sup> and with the assistance of Sulpicius Flavus, he attempted at an early age the composition of a history, and having called together a numerous auditory, to hear and give their judgment upon it, he read it over with much difficulty, and frequently interrupting himself. For after he had begun, a great laugh was raised amongst the company, by the breaking of several benches from the weight of a very fat man, and oven when order was restored, he could not forbear bursting out into volent fits of laughter, at the remembrance of the accident After he became emperor, likowise, he wrote several things

<sup>1</sup> Scaliger and Casaubon give Teleggenius as the reading of the best vanuscripts Whoever he was, his name seems to have been a bye-word r a notorious fool

n Titus Livius, the prince of Roman historians, died in the fourth year pee reign of Tiberius, A u c 771, at which time Claudius was about that-seven years old, having been born A, u c 7-14.

which ho was careful to have recited to his friends by a realer He commenced his hi tory from the dath of the dicts or Cover; but afterwards he took a later period and legan at the conclusion of the civil wars because he fould could not speak with freedom, and a due regard to truth, o wrething the former period, having been often taken to take hir his mother and grandmother. Of the carlier hit are he left only two books but of the latter one and frig He cripal I likewise the lintery of his Own Life" in eight to be fall of absurdition but in no bed stale; al a | 1 lk preeff(w m against the Books of Annius falls " which sale that men siderable degree of learning. He lend a intented there rew letters and added them to the farmer alphal to as Lighte toecsisty. He published a look to no mimend them which he was yet only a private person but on his cliral in to imperial power he had little difficulty in introducing them fuln comm a use and these letters are still extent in a surjety of 1 1s. rematers, and inscriptions upon buildings

VLIL He applied himself with no less attention to the study of Orceian literature asserting upon all occa one his love of that language and its surpa ing excellency. A stranger once holding a discourse both in (in-k and Latin he addressed him thus "Ence you are skill d in both our tongute. And recommending Achais to the favour of the senate, he said, "I have a particular attachment to that province, on necount of our common studies. In the a nate he often made long replies to ambas adors in that language. On the tribunal he frequently quoted the views of Homer. When at any time he had taken vengeance on an in my or a compilicator he scurredy ever gave to the tribune on guard, who,

<sup>1</sup> Asialas Gallus was the son of Asialas Pollin, the famous erator and had written 3 book comparing his father with Cicero and giving the former the preference.

Squintilan informs ut, that one of the three new letters the emperor Cheedles attempted to introduce, was the Rolle digmuna, which had the same force as a consenant. Pricain calls another anti-digma, and tays that the character proposed was two Oreck sigman, Lock to back, and that it was absuithed for the Oreck w, pr. The other letter is not known and all three soon fall into discont fall interests.

according to custom, came for the word, any other than this -

'' Ανδρ' ἐταμύνασθαι ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπηνη.

'Tis time to strike when wrong demands the blow

To eonclude, he wrote some histories likewise in Greek, namely, twenty books on Tusean affairs, and eight on the Carthaginian, in eonsequence of which, another museum was founded at Alexandria, in addition to the old one, and called after his name, and it was ordered, that, upon certain days in every year, his Tuscan history should be read over in one of these, and his Carthaginian in the other, as in a school, each history being read through by persons who took it in turn

XLIII Towards the close of his life, he gave some manifest indications that he repented of his marriage with Agrippina, and his adoption of Nero. For some of his freedmen noticing with approbation his having condemned, the day before, a woman accused of adultery, he remarked, "It has been my misfortune to have wives who have been unfaithful to my bed, but they did not escape punishment". Often, when he happened to meet Britannicus, he would embrace him tenderly, and express a desire "that he might grow apace, and receive from him an account of all his actions" using the Greek phrase, i trádesa, "He who has wounded will also heal". And intending to give him the manly habit, while he was yet under age and a tender youth, because his stature would allow of it, he added, "I do so, that the Roman people may at last have a real Cesar"."

XLIV Soon afterwards he made his will, and had it signed by all the magistrates as witnesses. But he was prevented from proceeding further by Agrippina, accused by her own guilty conscience, as well as by informers, of a variety of crimes. It is agreed that he was taken off by poison, but where, and by whom administered, remains in uncertainty. Some authors say that it was given him as he was feasting with the priests in the Capitol, by the cunuch Halotus, his taster. Others say

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Casar by birth, not by adoption, as the preceding emperors had been, and as Nero would be, if he succeeded

by Agrippina, at his own table in mushrooms a dish of which he was very fond. The accounts of what followed likewise differ Some relate that he instantly became speechless was racked with pain through the night, and died about day-break others that at first he fell into a sound sleep—and afterwards his food rising be threw up the whole but had another does given him whether in water graed, under pretence of refreshment after his exhaustion or in a clyster, as if designed to relieve his bowels, is likewise uncertaint.

XLV IIIs death was kept secret until everything was seltied relative to his successor. Accordingly rows were made
for his recovery and comedians were called to amuse him as
it was pretended, by his own desire
third of the ides of October [13th October], in the ownship of
Asintas Marcellus and Acilius Ariola, in the sixty fourth year
of his age, and the fourteenth of his riega. His fancral was
celebrated with the customary imperial pomp, and he was
ranked amongst the gods. This honour was taken from him
by Kero but restored by Verpanan.

XLVI The chief pressees of his death were the appear ance of a comet, his father Dru-us a monument being struck by lightning, and the death of most of the magistrates of all ranks that year It appears from soveral circumstances, that he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and made no secret of it. For when he nominated the consuls, he appointed no one to fill the office beyond the month in which he died At the last assembly of the senate in which he made his oppearance he earnestly exhorted his two sons to unity with each other and with carnest entreaties commended to the fathers the care of their tender years. And in the last cause he heard from the tribusel, he repeatedly declared in open That he was now arrived at the last stage of mortal whilst all who heard it shrunk at hearing these existence eminous words.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tacitus informs us, that the poison was prepared by Locasta, of whom we shall hear Nuno, c. xxxiii, &c.

<sup>1</sup> A.U.C. 806; A.D. 51

the Tiber, but meeting with a violent storm in the Mediterranean, he landed at Marseilles, and proceeding thence to Boulogne in Picardy, passed over into Britain. In what part he debarked, is uncertain, but it seems to have been at some place on the south-east coast of the island. He immediately received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, who inhabited those parts, and returning to Rome, after an absence of six months, celebrated with great pomp the triumph, for which he had undertaken the

expedition

In the interior parts of Britain, the natives, under the command of Caractacus, maintained an obstinate resistance, and little progress was made by the Roman arms, until Ostorius Scapula was sent over to prosecute the war He penetrated into the country of the Silures, a warlike tribe, who inhabited the banks of the Severn, and having defeated Caractacus in a great battle, made him prisoner, and sent him to Rome The fame of the British prince had by this time spread over the provinces of Gaul and Italy, and upon his arrival in the Roman capital, the people flocked from all quarters to behold him The ceremonial of his entrance was conducted with great solumnity adjoining the Roman camp, the pretonan troops were drawn up in martial array the emperor and his court took their station in front of the lines, and behind them was ranged the whole body of the people The procession commenced with the different trophies which had been taken from the Britons during the progress of the war Next followed the brothers of the vanquished prince, with his wife and daughter, in chains, expressing by their supplicating looks and gestures the fears with which they were actuated But not so Caractacus himself With a manly gast and an undaunted countenance, he marched up to the tribunal, where the emperor was seated, and addressed him in the following terms -

"If to my high birth and distinguished rank, I had added the virtues of moderation, Rome had beheld me rather as a friend than a captive, and you would not have rejected an alliance with a prince, descended from illustrious ancestors, and governing many nations. The reverse of my fortune to you is glorious, and to me humiliating. I had arms, and men, and horses, I possessed extraordinary riches, and can it be any wonder that I was unwilling to lose them? Because Rome aspires to universal dominion, must men therefore implicitly resign themselves to subjection? I opposed for a long time the progress of your arms, and had I acted otherwise, would either you have had the glory of conquest, or I of a brave resistance? I am now in your

power: if you are determined to take revenge my fata will soon be forgotten, and you will derive no honour from the transaction. Preserve my life and I shall remain to the latest ages a monu-

ment of your elemency "

Immediately upon this speech Claudius granted him his liberty as he did likewise to the other royal captures. They all returned their thanks in a manner the most gratful to the emperor; and as soon as their chains were taken off waking towards Agriptina, who sat upon a beach at a httle distance they repeated to her the same ferrent declarations of gratitude and exteem.

History has preserved no account of Caractacus after this period; but it is probable that he returned in a short tune to his own country where his former valour and the magnanimity which he had displayed at Home would continue to render him illustrous through life eren ambet the irretnerable ruin of his

fortunes

The most extraordinary character in the present reign was hat of Valeria Messalina, the daughter of Valerius Messala Bar batus. She was married to Claudius and had by him a son and a daughter To cruelty in the prosecution of her purposes, sho added the most alundoned incontinence. Not confining her licentiousness within the limits of the palsee, where she committed the most shameful excesses, she prostituted her person in the com mon stews, and even in the public streets of the capital. As if her conduct was already not sufficiently scandalous, she obliged O Silius, a man of consular rank, to divorce his wife, that she might procure his company entirely to herself. Not contented with this indulgence to her criminal passion, she next persuaded him to marry her; and during an exeursion which the emperor made to Ostia, the ceremony of marriage was actually performed between them. The occasion was celebrated with a magnificent supper, to which she invited a large company ; and lest the whole should be regarded as a frolic, not meant to be consummated, the adulterous parties ascended the nuptial couch in the presence of the astoniahed spectators. Great as was the facility of Claudius a temper in respect of her former behaviour he could not overlook so flagrant a violation both of public decency and the laws of the country Silius was condemned to death for the adultery which he had perpetrated with reluctance; and Messalina was ordered into the emperor a presence, to answer for her conduct. Terror now operating upon her mind in conjunction with remorse, she could not summon the resolution to support such an interview, but retired into the gardens of Luculius, there to indulge at last the compunction which she felt for her crimes, and to meditate the entreaties by which she should endeavour to soothe the retransfer of the right of election from the colleges of the priests to the people In his consulship, having conquered the Allobroges and the Arvern,2 he made a progress through the province, mounted upon an elephant, with a body of soldiers attending him, in a sort of triumphal pomp Of this person the orator Licinius Crassus said, "It was no wonder he had a brazen beard, who had a face of non, and a heart of lead" His son, during his prætorship, proposed that Cheius Cæsar, upon the expiration of his consulship, should be called to account before the senate for his administration of that office, which was supposed to be contrary both to the omens and the laws. Afterwards, when he was consul himself,4 he tried to deprive Cheius of the command of the army, and having been, by intrigue and cabal, appointed his sucessor, he was made prisoner at Corsinium, in the beginning of the civil war set at liberty, he went to Marseilles, which was then besieged, where having, by his presence, animated the people to hold out, he suddenly deserted them, and at last was slain in the battle of Pharsalia He was a man of little constancy, and of a sullen temper In despair of his fortunes, he had recourse to poison, but was so terrified at the thoughts of death, that, immediately repenting, he took a vomit to throw it up again, and gave freedom to his physician for having, with great prudence and wisdom, given him only a gentle dose of the poison When Cneius Pompey was consulting with his friends in what manner he should conduct himself towards those who were neuter and took no part in the contest, he was the only one who proposed that they should be treated as enemies

III He left a son, who was, without doubt, the best of the family By the Pedian law, he was condemned, although innocent, amongst others who were concerned in the death of Cæsar <sup>5</sup> Upon this, he went over to Brutus and Cassius, his near relations, and, after their death, not only kept together the fleet, the command of which had been given him some time before, but even increased it At last, when the party had everywhere been defeated, he voluntarily surrendered it to

<sup>1</sup> AUC. 632

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Allobroges were a tribe of Gauls, inhabiting Dauphiny and Savoy, the Arverni have left their name in Auvergne

<sup>3</sup> Auc 695

<sup>4</sup> Auc 700

<sup>5</sup> Auc 711

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Mark Antony; considering it as a piece of service for which the latter owed him no small obligations. Of all those who were condemned by the law above-mentioned, he was the only man who was restored to his country and filled the highest coffices. When the civil war again broke out he was appointed licutenant under the same Antony and officed the chief command by those who were schamed of Cleopatra but not daring on account of a sudden unit position with which he was seized either to eccept or refuse it he went over to Augustus, and died a few days after not without an espersion gait upon his memory. For Antony gave ont, that he was induced to change sides by his impatience to be with his mis trees, Servilla Neis."

IV This Chours had a son, named Domitius who was after wards well known as the nominal purchaser of the family property left by Augustus will and no less famous in his youth for his dextenty in chariot-during than he was afterwards for the triumphal ornaments which he obtained in the German war. But he was a man of great stregame produgility and crudity When he was eddle he oblighed Lieuus Pianeus, the censor to give him the way, and in his preferable and consulably he made Roman kinghts and married women set on the stage. He gave hunts of wild beasts, both in the Circus and in all the wards of the city as also a show of gladutors but with such barbarity that Augustus, after privately repri manding him to no purpose, was obliged to restrain him by a public eddle.

V By the elder Antonia he had \cros father a man of executable character in every part of his life. During his attendance upon Caine Cenar in the hast, he killed a freed man of his own, for refusing to drink as much as he ordered him. Being dismissed for this from Cenars secrety he did not mend his habits, for in a village upon the Appian road he suddenly whipped his horses, and drore his chariot, on pur-

testator a life-time.

Aug.o. 723, Nals seems to have been a freedwoman who had been allowed to

adopt the family name of her master

By one of those fictions of law which have abounded in all systems
of jurisprudence, a nominal allenation of his property was made in the

pose, over a poor boy, crushing him to pieces At Rome, he struck out the eye of a Roman knight in the Forum, only for some free language in a dispute between them He was likewise so fraudulent, that he not only cheated some silversmiths of the price of goods he had bought of them, but, during his prætorship, defrauded the owners of chariots in the Circensian games of the prizes due to them for their victory His sister, jeering him for the complaints made by the leaders of the several parties, he agreed to sanction a law, "That, for the future, the prizes should be immediately paid" A little before the death of Tiberius, he was prosecuted for treason, adulteries, and incest with his sister Lepida, but escaped in the timely change of affairs, and died of a dropsy, at Pyrgi, leaving behind him his son, Nero, whom he had by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus

VI Nero was born at Antium, nine months after the death of Tiberius, upon the eighteenth of the calends of January [15th December], just as the sun rose, so that its beams touched him before they could well reach the earth. While many fearful conjectures, in respect to his future fortune, were formed by different persons, from the circumstances of his nativity, a saying of his father, Domitius, was regarded as an ill presage, who told his friends who were congratulating him upon the occasion, "That nothing but what was detestable, and pernicious to the public, could ever be produced of him and Agrippina". Another manifest prognostic of his future infelicity occurred upon his lustration day For Caius Cæsar being requested by his sister to give the child what name he thought proper—looking at his uncle, Claudius, who

Pyrgi was a town of the ancient Etruria, near Antium, on the seacoast, but it has long been destroyed 3 A.U.C. 791, A.D. 39

The suggestion offered (note, p 123), that the Argentarii, like the gold-smiths of the middle ages, combined the business of bankers, or money changers, with dealings in gold and silver plate, is confirmed by this passage. It does not, however, appear that they were artificers of the precious metals, though they dealt in old and current coins, sculptured vessels, gems, and precious stones

The purification, and giving the name, took place, among the Romans, in the case of boys, on the ninth, and of girls, on the tenth lay The customs of the Judaical law were similar See Matt. 1, 59—63 Luke in, 21, 22

afterwards, when emperor adopted here he gave his : and this not sensually but only in jest; Agrappina treating it with con tempt, because Claudius at that time was a mere laughingstock at the palace. He lost his father when he was three years old, being left heir to a third part of his estate; of which he never got possession, the whole being serred by his co-heir Calus. His mother being soon after banished he lived with his aunt Lepida, in a very necessitous condition under the care of two tutors, a dancing master and a barber. After Claudius came to the empire, he not only recovered his father a estate but was enriched with the additional inheritance of that of his step-father Crispus Passienns. Upon his mother a recall from banishment, he was advanced to such favour through Neros powerful interest with the emperor that it was reported, assessins were employed by Messalma, Claudius a wife to strangle him, as Britannicus a rival whilst he was taking his noon-day repose. In addition to the story it was said that they were frightened by a serpent, which erept from neder his cushion, and ran away. The tale was occasioned by finding on his couch, near the pillow the skin of a snake, which, by his mother a order he wore for some time upon his right arm inclosed in a bracelet of gold. This amulet, at last, he laid aside, from aversion to her memory but he seeght for it again in valu, in the time of his extremity

VII. When he was yet a mero boy, before he arrived at the age of puberty during the celebration of the Gircensian games' he performed his part in the Trojan play with a degree of firm new which gained him great opplause. In the clovrenth year of his age, he was adopted by Claudius, and placed under the inition of Annarus Beneca, whe had been made a senator. It is said that Seneca dreamt the night after that he was giving a lesson to Caisu Cossor? Were soon verified his dream, botrsy ing the cruelty of his disposition in every way he could. For he attempted to persuade his father that his brother Britan nieus, was nothing but a changelung, because the latter had

4 Caligula.

<sup>1</sup> A.D.O. 906.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Remea, the celebrated philosophical writer had been released from eata in Corrien, shortly before the death of Therina. He afterwards fell a sacrifice to the leakesy and creekty of his former poptl, Mero.

saluted him, notwithstanding his adoption, by the name of Ænobarbus, as usual When his aunt, Lepida, was brought to trial, he appeared in court as a witness against her, to gratify his mother, who persecuted the accused On his introduction, into the Forum, at the age of manhood, he gave a largess to the people and a donative to the soldiers for the pretorian cohorts, he appointed a solemn procession under arms, and marched at the head of them with a shield in his hand, after, which he went to return thanks to his father in the senate. Before Claudius, likewise, at the time he was eonsul, he made a speech for the Bolognese, in Latin, and for the Rhodians and, people of Ilium, in Greek He had the jurisdiction of præfects of the city, for the first time, during the Latin festival, during which the most celebrated advocates brought before him, not short and trifling causes, as is usual in that ease, but trials of importance, notwithstanding they had instructions from Claudius himself to the contrary Soon afterwards, he married Octavia, and exhibited the Circensian games, and hunting of wild beasts, in honour of Claudius

VIII He was seventeen years of age at the death of that prince,1 and as soon as that event was made public, he went, out to the cohort on guard between the hours of six and seven, for the omens were so disastrous, that no earlier time. of the day was judged proper On the steps before the palace gate, he was unanimously saluted by the soldiers as their emperor, and then carried in a litter to the camp, thence, after making a short speech to the troops, into the senate-house, where he continued until the evening, of all the immenser honours which were heaped upon him, refusing none but the title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, on account of his youth

IX He began his reign with an ostentation of dutiful regard to the memory of Claudius, whom he buried with the utmost pomp and magnificence, pronouncing the funeral oration himself, and then had him enrolled amongst the gods. He paid likewise the highest honours to the memory of his father Domitius. He left the management of affairs, both public and private, to his mother. The word which he gave, the first day of his reign to the tribune on guard, was, "The

<sup>1</sup> AUC 809-AD 57

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Best of Mothers—and afterwards he frequently appeared with her in the streets of Rome in her litter. He settled a colony at vatum, in which he placed the reteran soldiers leforaging to the guards—and obliged several of the nehest contunous of the first rank to transfer their residence to that place where he likewise made a noble harbour at a produceus expense.

Y. To establish still further his character he declared "that he designed to govern according to the model of and omitted no of portunity of showing his gran routy elemency and complaisance. The more burthensome taxes he either enturity took off or diminished. The rewards appointed for informers by the Lapian law he reduce I to a fourth part, and distributed to the people four hundred seterrees a man. To the noblest of the sensions who were much reduced in their circumstances he granted annual all wances. in some cases as much as five hundred thousand ersterers; and to the protorion cohorts a monthly allowance of corn grati-When called upon to subscribe the sentence according to cus-1 wish tom, of a eriminal condemned to die had never learnt to reed and write He continually saluted people of the several orders by name without a prompter When the senate returned him their thanks for his good goremment, he replied to them, 'It will be time enough to do so when I shall have deserved it.' He admitted the common people to see him perform his exercises in the Campus Martins. Ho frequently declaimed in public, and recited verses of his own composing not only at home but in the theatre so much to the joy of all the people that public prayers were appointed to be put up to the gods upon that account and the verses which had been publicly read were, after being written in gold letters, conscerated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Antium the birth-place of Kero, an ancient city of the Volicians stood on a rocky promostory of the costs, how called Capo d Anna, also othirty-right miles from Bonne. Though always a place of room assal importance, it was indebted to Nero for its nouthe partner. The print of the moles yet remain; and there are vestign of the temples and villas of the torm, which was the resort of the weathy Ronnan, it being a most delightful winter residence. The Apollo Belvidere was discovered among these rules.

aduted him, nothted the people with a great number and variety Enobarbus, as as the Juvenal and Circensian games, stage-plays, trial, he aphibition of gladiators In the Juvenal, he even adhis moth senators and aged matrons to perform parts In the into tensian games, he assigned the equestrian order seats apart th from the rest of the people, and had races performed by chariots drawn each by four camels In the games which he instituted for the eternal duration of the empire, and therefore ordered to be called Maximi, many of the senatorian and equestrian order, of both sexes, performed A distinguished Roman knight descended on the stage by a rope, mounted on an elephant A Roman play, likewise, composed by Afranius, was brought upon the stage It was entitled, "The Fire," and in it the performers were allowed to carry off, and to keep to themselves, the furniture of the house, which, as the plot of the play required, was burnt down in the theatre Every day during the solemnity, many thousand articles of all descriptions were thrown amongst the people to scramble for, such as fowls of different kinds, tickets for corn, clothes, gold, silver, gems, pearls, pictures, slaves, beasts of burden, wild beasts that had been tamed, at last, ships, lots of houses, and lands, were offered as prizes in a lottery.

XII These games he beheld from the front of the proscenium. In the show of gladiators, which he exhibited in a wooden amphitheatre, built within a year in the district of the Campus Martius, he ordered that none should be slain, not even the condemned criminals employed in the combats four hundred senators, and six hundred Roman knights, amongst whom were some of unbroken fortunes and unblemished reputation, to act as gladiators From the same orders, he engaged persons to encounter wild beasts, and for various other services in the theatre He presented the public with the representation of a naval fight, upon sea-water, with huge fishes swimming in it, as also with the Pyrrhic dance, performed by certain youths, to each of whom, after the performance was over, he granted the freedom of Rome. this diversion, a bull covered Pasiphae, concealed within a wooden statue of a cow, as many of the spectators believed, Icarus, upon his first attempt to fly, fell on the stage close to 1 A.u c 810.

the emperor's pavilion, and bespettered him with blood. For he very seldom presided in the games, but used to view them reclining on a couch, at first through some nurve aper tures, but afterwards with the Podism' quite open. He was the first who instituted in imitation of the Urrels a trial of skill in the three several exercises of music, wavetling and borse-racing to be performed at Rome every five years, and which he called Neronia. Upon the dedication of his bath? and ammaslum, he furnished the senate and the equestrian order with oil. He appointed as judges of the trial men of consular rank, chosen by lot, who ast with the practors. At this time he went down into the orchestra amongst the sens tors, and received the crown for the best performence in Latin prose and verse for which several persons of the greatest merit contended, but they unanimously yielded to him. The grown for the best performer on the harp, being likewise awarded to him by the judges he deroutly saluted it, and or dered it to be earlied to the statue of Augustus. In the gymnastic exercises, which he presented in the Fepta, while they were preparing the great sacrifice of an ex he shared his beard for the first time and putting it up in a carket of gold studded with pearls of great price, consecrated it to Jupiter Capitolinas. He invited the Vestal Virgins to see the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Padines was part of the amphibestre near the earthests, allotted to be sensions, and the ambassadors of foreign nations; and where also was the sent of the emperor of the person who rabilities the games and of the Vestal Vargins. It projected over the wall which surrouseds the area of the amphibester and was raised between turbles and fifters for above it account with a breast-work or parapet against the Irruption of wild bessia.

<sup>1</sup> AUG. 813.

Quid thermis melias Meronianis.—Il. vil. ch. 34 What worse then Nera?

What better than his baths?

<sup>4</sup> Among the Rossaus, the time at which young men first shared the beard was marked with particular ecremeny. It was mustly in their twenty-first year but the period varied. Caligula (c. x.) first shared at twenty-six inventy-dire.

wrestlers perform, because, at Olympia, the priestesses of Ceres are allowed the privilege of witnessing that exhibition.

XIII Amongst the spectacles presented by him, the solemn entrance of Tiridates 1 into the city deserves to be mentioned This personage, who was king of Armenia, he invited to Rome by very liberal promises. But being prevented by unfavourable weather from showing him to the people upon the day fixed by proclamation, he took the first opportunity which occurred, several cohorts being drawn up under arms, about the temples in the forum, while he was seated on a curule chair on the rostra, in a triumphal dress, amidst the military stand irds and ensigns Upon Tiridates advancing towards him, on a stage made shelving for the purpose, he permitted him to throw himself at his feet, but quickly raised him with his right hand, and kissed him. The emperor then, at the king's request, took the turban from his head, and replaced it by a crown, whilst a person of pretorian rank proclaimed in Litin the words in which the prince addressed the emperor as a suppliant. After this ceremony, the king was conducted to the theatre, where, after renewing his obeisance, Nero seated him on his right hand. Being then greeted by universal ac-clamation with the title of Emperor, and sending his laurel. crown to the Capitol, Nero shut the temple of the two-faced Janus, as though there now existed no war throughout the Rom in empire

XIV He filled the consulship four times 2 the first for two months, the second and last for six, and the third for four, the two intermediate ones he held successively, but the others after an interval of some years between them

be pronounced sentence from the tribunal according to his own view of the case as if it was the opinion of the majority. For a long time he would not admit the sens of freedmen into the senate; and those who had been admitted by former princes, he excluded from all public offices. To supernomerary candidates he gave command in the legions, to comfort them under the delay of their bopes. The consul hijs he commonly conferred for six months and one of the two consuls dying a little before the first of January he substituted no one in his place disliking what had been formerly done for Caninuss Rebilus on such an occasion who was consul for one day only He eillowed the trumphal honours only to those whe were of quantorian rank and to some of the equestrian order and bestowed them without regard to military service. And in steed of the questions, whose office it properly was, he frequently ordered that the addresses, which he sent to the senate on certain occasions, should be read by the ossuals.

VII. He devised a new style of building in the city, ordering plarms to be creeted before all houses, both in the streets and detached to give facilities from their terraces, in case of fire, for preventing it from spreading and these he built at his own expense. He likewise designed to extend the city walls as far as Ostia, and bring the sea from thence by a canal into the old city. Many severe regulations and new orders were made in his time. A sumpturey law was enacted. Public suppers were limited to the beortales a most completed in the strength of the season of the sum of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Spectals were small wicker bankets, in which victuals or money with the special content of the word was in conseq cases applied to the public enter tainments at which food was distributed, or money given in lieu of it,

<sup>\*</sup> Superstitions now et autéciere, aux the words of Succoles; the latter converging the kies of witchers for enchantment. Suidas relates that a certain marryr cried out from his du gwor. Ye have loaded mo, with fetters as sorcerer and profuse person. Tacitus cells the Christian religion \*a foreign and deadly [astite-kiii] superstition, \*dead, till, 32; Play in his excelstated to Triplan, \*a depes od, wheel (or proved), and outrageous superstition. \*Epid z. 97
Tactim also describes the accruedating terments inflicted on the Romete

He forbad the revels of the characters, who had long assumed a licence to stroll about, and established for themselves a kind of prescriptive right to cheat and thieve, making a jest of it. The partisans of the rival theatrical performers were banished, as well as the actors themselves.

XVII To prevent forgery, a method was then first invented, of having writings bored, run through three times with a thread, and then sealed. It was likewise provided that in wills, the two first pages, with only the testator's name upon them, should be presented blank to those who were to sign them as witnesses, and that no one who wrote a will for another, should insert any legacy for himself. It was likewise ordained that clients should pay their advocates a certain reasonable fee, but nothing for the court, which was to be gratuitous, the charges for it being paid out of the public treasury, that causes, the cognizance of which before belonged to the judges of the exchequer, should be transferred to the forum, and the ordinary tribunals, and that all appeals from the judges should be made to the senate

XVIII He never entertained the least ambition or hope of augmenting and extending the frontiers of the empire On the contrary, he had thoughts of withdrawing the troops from Britain, and was only restrained from so doing by the fear of appearing to detract from the glory of his father <sup>1</sup> All

Christians by Nero He says that they were subjected to the derision of the people, dressed in the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to be torn to pieces by dogs in the public games, that they were crucified, or condemned to he burnt, and at night-fall served in place of lamps to lighten the darkness, Nero's own gardens being used for the spectacle Annal. xv 44

Traditions of the church place the martyrdoms of SS Peter and Paul at Rome, under the reign of Nero The legends are given by Ordericus Vitalis See vol 1 of the edition in the Antiq Lib pp 206, &c., with the notes and reference to the apocryphal works on which they are founded

Claudius had received the submission of some of the British tribes. See c. xvii of his Life. In the reign of Nero, his general, Suetonius Paulinus, attacked Mona or Anglesey, the chief seat of the Druids, and extirpated them with great cruelty. The successes of Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, who inbabited Derbyshire, were probably the cause of Nero's wishing to withdraw the legions, she having reduced London, Colchester,

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that he did was to reduce the kingdom of Pontus which was ceded to him by Polemon and also the Alps, 'upon the death of Cottius, into the form of a province.

XIX. Twice only he undertook any foreign expeditions. one to Alexandria, and the other to Achaia but he abandoned the prosecution of the former on the very day fixed for his departure by being deterred both by ill omens, and the hazard of the voyage. For while he was making the circuit of the temples having scated himself in that of Vesta, when he at tempted to use the skirt of his robo stuck fast, and he was instantly seized with such a dimness in his eyes, that he could not see a yard before him In Achaia, he ettempted to make a cut through the Isthmus; and, having made a speech encou raging his pretonans to set about the work, on a signal given by sound of trumpet, he first broke ground with a spade, and carried off a basket full of earth upon his shoulders. He made preparations for an expedition to the Pass of the Caspian mountains a forming a new legion out of his late levies in Italy of men all six feet high, which he called the phalanx of Alexander the Great. These transactions, in part unexceptionable, and in part highly commendable I have brought into one view, in order to separate them from the scandalous and criminal part of his conduct, of which I shall now give an account.

XX. Among the other liberal arts which he was taught in his youth he was instructed in muse; and immediately after and Verslam, and put to death seventy thousand of the Romans and their British affer. She was, however at length defeated by Sectorius Pallous, who was recalled for his seventice. See Techt. Agric. xv. 1, xvi. 11 and Assal. xiv. 20

The dominions of Cottins embraced the vallies in the chain of the Alps extending between Piedmont and Dauphiny called by the Romans

the Cottian Alps. See Traxagus, c. xxxvil.

<sup>9</sup> It was a feromite project of the Genera to make a navigable canal through the Islamus of Corinch, to avoid the circumsavigation of the southern extremity of the Morea, now Cape Matapas, which, even in our days, has its perils. See Jegune Capan, c. xiv. and Cantenna, c. xxi.

Gaspie Fortar so called from the difficulties opposed by the narrow and rooky defile to the passage of the Casessas from the country weaked by the Eurise, now called Boorgia, to that lying between the Caspias and the jess of Azof. It commesoes a faw miles north of Tedia, and is free nearly the scene of contents between the Brastians and the Circassian tribes.

this advancement to the empire, he sent for Terpnus, a performer upon the harp,1 who flourished at that time with the highest reputation Sitting with him for several days following, as he sang and played after supper, until late at night, he began by degrees to practise upon the instrument himself. Nor did he omit any of those expedients which artists in music adopt, for the preservation and improvement of their He would he upon his back with a sheet of lead upon his breast, clear his stomach and bowels by vomits and clysters, and forbear the eating of fruits, or food piciudicial Encouraged by his proficiency, though his voice was naturally neither loud nor clear, he was desirous of appearing upon the stage, frequently repeating amongst his friends a Greek proverb to this effect "that no one had any regard for music which they never heard" Accordingly, he made his first public appearance at Naples, and although the theatre quivered with the suddon shock of an earthquake, he did not desist, until he had finished the piece of music he had begun He played and sung in the same place several times, and for several days together, taking only now and then a little respite to refresh his voice Impatient of retirement, it was his custom to go from the bath to the theatre, and after dining in the orchestra, amidst a crowded assembly of the people, he promised them in Greek,2 "that after he had drank a little, he would give them a tune which would make their ears tingle" Being highly pleased with the songs that were sung in his praise by some Alexandrians belonging to the fleet just arrived at Naples, he sent for more of the like singers from Alexandria At the same time, he chose young men of the equestrian order, and above five thousand robust young fellows from the common people, on purpose to learn various kinds of applause, called bombi, imbrices, and testæ,4 which they were to practise in his favour, whenever he performed They were

<sup>1</sup> Citharwdus the word signifies a vocalist, who with his singing gave an accompaniment on the harp

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It has been already observed that Naples was a Greek colony, and consequently Greek appears to have continued the vernacular tongue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Augustus, c. xcviii

Of the strange names given to the different modes of applauding in the theatre, the first was derived from the humming of bees, the second from the rattling of rain or hall on the roofs, and the that from the tinking of porcelain vessels when clashed together

divided into several parties, and were remarkable for their fine heads of hair and were extremely well dressed, with rings upon their loft hands. The leaders of these bands had an larges of forty thousand sesterces allowed them

1. XXI At Romo also belog extremely proud of his singing, he ordered the games called Aeronia to be celebrated before the time fixed for their return. All now becoming importunate to hear his heavenly voice, he informed them, he would gratify those who desired it of the gardens the soldiers then on guard seconding the roice of the people, he promised to comply with their request immediately and with all his heart. He instantly ordered his name to be en tered upon the list of musiciaes who proposed to contend and having thrown his let lote the urn among the rest, took his turn and entered attended by the prefects of the pretorian cohorts bearing his harp, and followed by the military tri buncs, and several of his intimate friends. After be had taken his station and made the usual prolude he commanded Clu rine ltufus, a man of consular rank, to proclaim in the theatre that he intended to sing the story of Niebe. This he accordingly did, and continued it until nearly ten e clock but deforred the disposal of the crown, and the remaining part of the solemnity until the next year; that he might have more frequent opportunities of performing But that being too long, he could not refrain from often appearing as a public performer during the leterral. He made no scruple of exhibiting on the stage even in the speciacles presented to the people by private persons and was offered by one of the printers, no less than a million of sesterces for his services. He likewise song tragedies in a mask; the visors of the heroes and gods, as also of the heroines and goddesses, being formed into a resemblance of his own face and that of any woman he was in love with. Amongst the rest, he sung Labour 1 Orestes the Murderer of his Mother

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cannes was the dasgitter of an Etterrian Ling, whose incomisons inbercourse with her brother having here detected, in coasequence of the gries of the infant of which she was delivered, she killed hersel? It was a joke at Rome, that some one asking, when Nero was performing in Cannes, what the emperor was doing a way repited. He is included into

that he never durst spit, nor wipe the sweat from his forchead in any other way than with his sleeve Having, in the performance of a tragedy, dropped his sceptre, and not quickly recovering it, he was in a great fright, lest he should be set aside for the miscarriage, and could not regain his assurance, until an actor who stood by swore he was certain it had not been observed in the midst of the acclamations and exultations of the people When the prize was adjudged to him, he always proclaimed it himself, and even entered the lists with the heralds no memory or the least monument might remain of any other victor in the sacred Grecian games, he ordered all then statues and pictures to be pulled down, dragged away with hooks, and thrown into the common sewers He drove the chariot with various numbers of horses, and at the Olympie games with no fewer than ten, though, in a poem of his, he had reflected upon Mithridates for that innovation Being thrown out of his chariot, he was again replaced, but could not retain his seat, and was obliged to give up, before he reached the goal, but was crowned notwithstanding On his departure, he declared the whole province a free country, and conferred upon the judges in the several games the freedom of Rome, with large sums of money All these favours he proclaimed himself with his own voice, from the middle of the Stadium, during the solemnity of the Isthmian games

XXV On his return from Greece, arriving at Naples, because he had commenced his career as a public performer in that city, he made his entrance in a chariot drawn by white horses through a breach in the city-wall, according to the practice of those who were victorious in the sacred Greeian games. In the same manner he entered Antium, Alba, and Rome. He made his entry into the city riding in the same chariot in which Augustus had triumphed, in a purple tunic, and a cloak embroidered with golden stars, having on his head the crown won at Olympia, and in his right hand that which was given him at the Parthian games—the rest being carried in a procession before him, with inscriptions denoting the places where they had been won, from whom, and in what plays or musical performances, whilst a trainfollowed him with loud acclamations, crying out, that "they

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were the emperor a attendants, and the soldiers of hit ter umph. Having then caused an arch of the Circus Maximus to be taken down he passed through the breach, as also through the Velabrum' and the forum to the Palatine hill and the temple of Apollo Every where as he marched along victims were slain whilst the streets were strewed with saffron, and birds, chaplets, and sweetments scattered abroad. suspended the secred crowns in his chamber about his beds, and caused statues of himself to be erected in the attire of a harper and had his likeness stamped upon the coin in the same dress. After this period, he was so far from obsting any thing of his application to music, that, for the preservation of his voice he never addressed the soldiers but by messages, or with some person to deliver his speeches for him when he thought fit to make his appearance amongst them Nor did he ever do any thing either in jest or earnest, without a voice-master standing by him to cantion him against over straining his vocal organs, and to apply a handkerchief to his mouth when he did. He offered his friendship or avowed

1 The Circus Maninus, frequently mentioned by Sostonius, was so called because it was the largest of all the circuse in and about Romes Radely constructed of timber by Tarquiains Drusos, and enlarged and my proved with the growing features of the repeable, under the emperors it became a most superb building. Julius Carar (a. 1222) extended it, and surrounded it with a canal, ten feet deep and as many break, to protect the spectators aguiest danger from the criariots during the moss. Claudius (c. 321, 1704) the current with marble, and glidded the make. This vast centre of attraction to the Roman people, in the gauses of which religious politics, and assumements, were combined, was according to Plury three stable (cf. 6.5 feet) long and one broad, and held 260,000 spectators so that Jerurali says.

"Totam hodie Roman eireus espit."—Set zi. 195

This poetical exaggeration is applied by Addison to the Colosseum.

That on its public shows unpeopled Rome. —Letter to Lord Halffar.

The area of the Circus Maximus occupied the bollow between the Palatine and Aventhe Mills, so that it was overlocked by the imperial palace, from which the empower had so full a view of it, that they could from that height give the signals for occurrencing the races. Few fragments of it remain t but from the circus of Caracalla, which is better preserved, a tolerably good likes of the sacient circus may be formed For dealing of its parts, and the mode in which the sports were conducted, see Bureless' a districtive p. 300 &c.

The Velabrum was a street in Rome. See JULIUS CARAR C. XXXVII.

open enmity to many, according as they were lavish or spa ing in giving him their applause

XXVI Petulancy, lewdness, luxury, avarice, and eruelty, he practised at first with reserve and in private, as if prompted to them only by the folly of youth, but, even then, the world was of opinion that they were the faults of his nature, and not of his age After it was dark, he used to enter the taverns disguised in a cap or a wig, and ramble about the streets in sport, which was not void of mischief He used to beat those he met eoming home from supper, and, if they made any resistance, would wound them, and throw them into the common-He broke open and robbed shops, establishing an auotion at home for selling his booty. In the scuffles which took place on those occasions, he often ran the hazard of losing his eyes, and even his life, being beaten almost to death by a senator, for handling his wife indecently. After this adventure, he never again ventured abroad at that time of night. without some tribunes following him at a little distance the day-time he would be carried to the theatre incognito in a litter, placing himself upon the upper part of the proscenium, where he not only witnessed the quarrels which arose on account of the performances, but also encouraged them they came to blows, and stones and pieces of broken benches began to fly about, he threw them plentifully amongst the people, and once even broke a prætor's head

XXVII His vices gaining strength by degrees, he laid aside his jocular amusements, and all disguise, breaking out into enormous erimes, without the least attempt to conceal them. His revels were prolonged from mid-day to midnight, while he was frequently refreshed by warm baths, and, in the summer time, by such as were cooled with snow. He often supped in public, in the Naumachia, with the sluices shut, or in the Campus Martius, or the Circus Maximus, being waited upon at table by common prostitutes of the town, and Syrian strumpets and glee-girls. As often as he went down the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted through the gulf of Baiæ, booths furnished as brothels and cating-houses, were creeted along the shore and river banks, before which stood matrons, who, like bawds and bostesses, allured him to land. It was also his custom to in-

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vite himself to supper with his friends; at one of which was expended no less than four millions of sesterces in chaplets, and at another something more in roses.

XXVIII Besides the abuse of free-born lade, and the debanch of married women, he committed a rape upon Rubrin, a Vestal Virgin He was upon the point of marrying Acte his freedwoman having suborned some men of consular rank to swear that she was of royal descent. He gelded tho boy Sporus, and endeavoured to transform him into a woman He even went so far as to marry him with all the usual for malities of a marriage settlement, the rose-coloured nuptial veil, and a numerous company at the wedding. When the ceremony was over he had him conducted like a bride to his own house and treated him as his wife ? It was jocularly observed by some person, that it would have been well for mankind, had such a wife fallen to the lot of his father Doma This Sporus he carried about with him in a litter round the solemn assemblies and fairs of Greece and afterwards at Rome through the Sigillaria, dressed in the rich attire of an empress kinding him from time to time as they rode together That he entertained an incestuous passion for his mother but was deterred by her enemies, for fear that this laughty and overbearing woman should, by her compliance get him entirely into her power and govern in every thing, was universally believed especially after he had introduced amongst his concubines a strumpet, who was reported to have a strong resemblance to Agrippina.

XXIX Ho prostituted his own chastity to such a degree that

Olim etiam quoties lectica cum matre veheretur libidinatam incesto, an macalis vestis proditum, affirmant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Acto was a lare who had been bought in Asia, whose beauty so captivited New that be redemend her and became prestly attacked to her ble is supposed to be the coresibine of New mentioned by 8t. Chrysostom, as having been converted by 8t. Pentl during his residence at Rome. The Aportla speaks of the "finite in Cemar's household."—PAR in 22.

<sup>2</sup> See Testion 4 America 4.

A much frequented street in Rome. See CLAUDIUS, c xvl.

<sup>4</sup> It is said that the advances were made by Agrippina, with flagrant indecency to secure her power over him. See Tacitus, dassel. xiv 2, 3.

after he had defiled every part of his person with some unnatural pollution, he at last invented an extraordinary kind of diversion, which was, to be let out of a den in the arena, covered with the skin of a wild beast, and then assail with violence the private parts both of men and women, while they were bound to stakes. After he had vented his furious passion upon them, he finished the play in the embraces of his freedman Doryphorus, to whom he was married in the same way that Sporus had been married to himself, imitating the cries and shricks of young virgins, when they are ravished. I have been informed from numerous sources, that he firmly believed, no man in the world to be chaste, or any part of his person undefiled, but that most men concealed that vice, and were cunning enough to keep it secret. To those, therefore, who finally owned their unnatural lewdness, he forgaye all other crimes.

XXX He thought there was no other use of riches and money than to squander them away profusely, regarding all those as sordid wretches who kept their expenses within due bounds, and extolling those as truly noble and generous souls, who lavished away and wasted all they possessed. He praised and admired his uncle Caius, upon no account more, than for squandering in a short time the vast treasure left him by Tiberius. Accordingly, he was himself extravagant and profuse, beyond all bounds. He spent upon Tiridates eight hundred thousand sesterces a day, a sum almost incredible, and at his departure, presented him with upwards of a million. He likewise bestowed upon Mencerates the harper, and Spicillus a gladiator, the estates and houses of men who had received the honour of a triumph. He enriched the usurer Cercopithecus Pancrotes with estates both in town and country; and gave him a funcral, in pomp and magnificence little inferior to that of princes. He never wore the same garment twice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tacitus calls him Pythagoras, which was probably the freedman's proper name, Doryphorus being a name of office somewhat equivalent to almoner See *Annal* b xv

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The emperor Caligula, who was the brother of Nero's mother,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See before, c xm. Tiridates was nine months in Rome or the neighbourhood, and was entertained the whole time at the emperor's expense

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has been known to stake four hundred thousand sesterces on a throw of the dice. It was his custom to fish with a golden net, drawn by silken cords of purple and scarlet. It is said, that he never travelled with less than a thousand beg-gage-carts the mules being all shed with silver and the drivers dressed in scarlet jackets of the finest Canusian cloth with a numerous train of footmen and troops of Mazneans with bracelets on their arms and mounted upon horses in splendid trappings.

XXXI In nothing was he more prodigal than in his build ings. He completed his palace by continuing it from the Pa latine to the I equiline hill, calling the building at first only The Pasage but after it was burnt down and rebuilt

The Golden House."1 Of its dimensions and furniture it may be sufficient to say thus much the perch was so high that there stood in it a colossal statue of himself a hundred and twenty feet in height end the space included in it was so ample, that it had triple portices a mile in length, and a lake like a sea, surrounded with buildings which had the appearance of a city Within its area were corn fields, vine-yards, pastures, and woods containing a vast number of ani mals of various kinds, both wild and tame. In other parts at was entirely over laid with gold, and adorned with jowels and mother of pearl. The supper rooms were vaulted and com partments of the college, inlaid with ivory were made to revolve, and scatter flowers while they contained pipes which

<sup>1</sup> Canusium now Canosa, was a town in Apulia, near the mouth of the river Aufidus celebrated for its fac wool. It is mentioned by Pllay and retained its reputation for the manufacture in the middle ages, as we find in Ordericus Vitalia.

<sup>3</sup> The Mazzeans were an African tribe from the deserts in the laterior famous for their spirited barbs, their powers of endurance, and their skill

in throwing the dart.

<sup>3</sup> The Palace of the Cresars, on the Palatine hill, was enlarged by Au gustus from the dimensions of a private bouse (see Apopurus ec. 11/11... lvil.). Tiberius made some additions to it, and Caligula extended it to the forum (CALISULA, c. XXXL). Tacitus gives a similar account with that of our eathor of the extent and splendour of the works of Claudius. Annal, XV c. xlii. Reaching from the Palatine to the Esculine hill, it covered all the intermediate space, where the Colomeum now stands, Wa shall find that it was still further enlarged by Domitian c. xy of his life in the present work,

shed unguents upon the guests The chief banqueting room was circular, and revolved perpetually, night and day, in imitation of the motion of the celestial bodies The baths were supplied with water from the sea and the Albula Upon the dedication of this magnificent house after it was finished, all he said in approval of it was, "that he had now a dwelling fit for a man" He commenced making a pond for the reception of all the hot streams from Bane, which he designed to have continued from Misenum to the Avernian lake, in a conduit, enclosed in galleries, and also a canal from Avenum to Ostia, that ships might pass from one to the other, without a sea The length of the proposed canal was one hundred and sixty miles, and it was intended to be of breadth sufficient to permit ships with five banks of oars to pass each other the execution of these designs, he ordered all prisoners, in every part of the empire, to be brought to Italy, and that even those who were convicted of the most hemous crimes, in lied of any other sentence, should be condemned to work at them He was encouraged to all this wild and enormous profusion, not only by the great revenue of the empire, but by he sudden hopes given him of an immense hidden treasure. which queen Dido, upon her flight from Tyre, had brought with her to Africa This, a Roman knight pretended to assure him, upon good grounds, was still hid there in some deep caverns, and might with a little labour be recovered

XXXII But being disappointed in his expectations of this resource, and reduced to such difficulties, for want of money, that he was obliged to defer paying his troops, and the rewards due to the veterans, he resolved upon supplying his necessities by means of false accusations and plunder. In the first place, he ordered, that if any freedman, without sufficient reason, bore the name of the family to which he belonged, the half, instead of three fourths, of his estate should be brought into the exchequer at his decease also that the estates of all such persons as had not in their wills been mindful of their prince, should be confiscated, and that the lawyers who had drawn or dictated such wills, should be hable to a fine. He ordained likewise, that all words and actions, upon which any informer could ground a prosecution, should be deemed treason. He demanded an equivalent for the crowns which the cities of

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Greece had at any time off-red him in the solemn games. Having forhad any one to use the colours of anothyst and Tyran purple he privately suit a person to still a few ounces of them apon the day of the Nundians, and this which up all the merchants shops on the pretext that his ediet had been violated. It is said, that as he was playing and singing in the theatre observing a married lady dressel in the purple which he had prohibited, he pointed he rout to his procurnors upon which sho was immediately dragged out of her seat, and not only stripped of her clothes but her property. He never nominated a person to any office without saying to him. You know what I want and let us take care that nobody has any thing he can call his own. At last he rifled many temples of the rich offerings with which they were stored, and melled down all the gold and silver states, and amongst them those of the penates, which Galba afterwards restored.

Will He began the practice of perricide and murder with Claudius himself for although he was not the contriver of his death, he was prry to the plot. Nor did he make any secret of it hat used afterwards to commend in a Greek provent mediciones as food if for the good, because Claudius had been poisoned with them. He traduced his memory both by word and deed in the grossest manner; one while charging him with folly another while with cruelty. For he used to say by way of jest, that he had ceased several amongst mem pronouncing the first syllable long and treated as null many of his decrees and ordinances, as made by a deting old block head. He enclosed the place where his body was burnt with only a low wall of rough massaury. He attempted to poison

2 A play upon the Greek word purple rignifying a fool, while the fatta more right from more means "to dwell," or "continue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The penative were wornhipped in the lancomost part of the house, which was called penativals. There were likewise penking-penative, were shipped in the Capital and supposed to be the guardians of the city and temples. Some have thought that the larve and penative were the same and they appear to be sometimes confounded. They were, however different. The penative were reported to be of divine origin; it he larve, of human. Certain persons were admitted to the vorship of the larve who were not to that of the penative. The latter as has been already said, were wornhipped only in the innormost part of the house, but the former sho in the public roads, in the camp, and on see.

Britannicus, as much out of envy because he had a sweeter voice, as from apprehension of what might ensue from the respect which the people entertained for his father's memory. He employed for this purpose a woman named Locusta, who had been a witness against some persons guilty of like practices But the poison she gave him, working more slowly than he expected, and only causing a purge, he sent for the woman, and beat her with his own hand, charging her with administering an antidote instead of poison, and upon her alleging in excuse, that she had given Britannicus but a gentle mixture in order to prevent suspicion, "Think you," said he, "that I am afraid of the Julian law," and obliged her to prepare, in his own chamber and before his eyes, as quick and strong a dose as possible This he tried upon a kid but the animal lingering for five hours before it expired, he ordered her to go to work again, and when she had done, he gave the poison to a pig, which dying immediately, he commanded the potion to be brought into the eating-room and given to Britannicus, while he was at supper with him The prince had no sooner tasted it than he sunk on the floor. Nero meanwhile, pretending to the guests, that it was only a fit of the falling sickness, to which, he said, he was subject buried him the following day, in a mean and hurried way, during violent storms of rain. He gave Locusta a pardon, and rewarded her with a great estate in land, placing some disciples with her, to be instructed in her trade

XXXIV His mother being used to make strict inquiry into what he said or did, and to reprimand him with the freedom of a parent, he was so much offended, that he endeavoured to expose her to public resentment, by frequently pretending a resolution to quit the government, and retire to Rhodes Soon afterwards, he deprived her of all honour and power, took from her the guard of Roman and German soldiers, banished her from the palace and from his society, and persecuted her in every way he could contrive, employing persons to harass her when at Rome with law-suits, and to disturb her in her retirement from town with the most scurrilous and abusive language, following her about by land and sea. But being terrified with her menaces and violent spirit, he resolved upon her destruction, and thrice attempted it by poison. Finding, how-

ever that she had previou by seems I herself by anti-lokes, he continued machinery by which the first out his bed-character might be made to fall upon her while she was a lep in the night. This deelgn miscarrying likewise through the little caution used by those who were in the seent like peat sarsta gem was to construct a ship which could be easily shirered in hopes of destroying her either he drowning or by the deek abore her cabin crushing her in its fall. Accordingly under colour of a pretended reconcillation he wrote her an extremely affectionate letter inviting her to Italia to celebrate with him the festival of Minerca. He had given private orders to the captains of the galleys which were to atten I her to shatter to pieces the ship in which she had come by falling foul of it but in such manner that it might appear to be done accidentally He prolonged the entertainment, for the more convenient onportunity of executing the plot in the night and at her return for Bauli instead of the old ship which had conveyed her to Baire he offered that which he had contribud for her destruction. He attended her to the versel in a very cheerful mocal and, at parting with her kiesed her breasts after which he eat up very late in the night, waiting with great anxiety to learn the issue of his project. But receiving information that every thing had fallen out contrary to his wish and that she had saved herself by swimming -not knowing what course to take upon her freedman Lucius Agenous bringing word. with great for that she was safe and well he privately dropped a porlard by him Ho then commanded the freedman to be seized and put in chains, under pretence of his having been employed by his mother to assu mate him at the same time ordering her to be put to death and giving out, that to avoid punishment for her intended crime also had laid violent hands upon herself. Other circumstances still more horrible are related on good authority as that he went to view her corner and handling her limbs, pointed out some blemishes and commended other points and that, growing thirsty during the survey he called for drink. Let be was pover afterwards able to tear the stage of his own conscience for this airoclous act although encouraged by the congratulatory addresses of the army, the senate, and people. He frequently affirmed that he was haunted by his mother a ghost, and persecuted with the whips 2 A small port between the gulf of Baise and cape Miscours.

and burning torches of the Furies Nay, he attempted by magical rites to bring up her ghost from below, and soften her rage against him When he was in Greece, he durst not attend the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, at the initiation of which, impious and wicked persons are warned by the voice of the herald from approaching the rites 1 Besides the muider of his mother, he had been guilty of that of his aunt; for, being obliged to keep her bed in consequence of a complaint in her bowels, he paid her a visit, and she, being then advanced in years, stroking his downy chin, in the tenderness of affection, said to him "May I but live to see the day when this is shaved for the first time,2 and I shall then die contented" He turned, however, to those about him, made a jest of it, saying, that he would have his beard immediately taken off, and ordered the physicians to give her more violent purgatives He scized upon her estate before she had expired, suppressing her will, that he might enjoy the whole himself

XXXV He had, besides Octavia, two other wives Poppæa Sabina, whose father had borne the office of quæstor, and who had been married before to a Roman knight and, after her, Statilia Messalina, great-grand-daughter of Taurus,3 who was twice consul, and received the honour of a triumph To obtain possession of her, he put to death her husband, Attieus Vestinus, who was then consul He soon became disgusted with Octavia, and ceased from having any intercourse with her, and being censured by his friends for it, he replied, "She ought to be satisfied with having the rank and appendages of his wife" Soon afterwards, he made several attempts, but in vain, to strangle her, and then divorced her for barrenness But the people, disapproving of the divorce, and making severe comments upon it, he also banished her At last he

afterrom whence the "Procul, O procul este profam!" of the poet, a from which was transferred to the Christian mysteries

L 2 See before, c xn

in3 Statilius Taurus, who lived in the time of Augustus, and built the wiphitheatre called after his name Augustus, c xxiv He is mentioned merlorace, Epist i v 4

follo ctavia was first sent away to Campania, under a guard of soldiers, with the being recalled, in consequence of the remonstrances of the by whom she was beloved, Nero banished her to the island of structions.

put her to death upon a charge of adultery so impudent and false that, when all those who were put to the torture post tively denied their knowledge of it he suborned his pedarorne Anicetus, to affirm that he had secretly intrigued with and debauched her. He married Poppers twelve days after the divorce of Octavia,1 and entertained a great affection for her but, nevertheless, killed her with a kick which he gave her when she was big with child, and in had health only because she found fault with him for returning late from driving his He had hy her a daughter Claudia Augusta, who died an infant. There was no person at all connected with him who created his deadly and unjust cruelty. Under pretence of her being engaged in a plot against him he pot to death Antonia, Claudius a daughter who refused to marry him after the death of Poppera. In the same way he destroyed all who were allied to him either by blood or marrage amongst whom was young Aulus Plautinus. He first compelled him to submit to his unnatural last, and then ordered him to be executed, crying out, Let my mother bestow her kines on my successor thus defiled " pretending that he had been his mother's paramour and by her encouraged to aspire to the empire His step-son Rufinus Crispinus, Poppera s son, though a minor he ordered to be drowned in the sen, while he was fishing by his own slaves, because he was reported to set fre quently amongst his play fellows the part of a general or an emperor Ho banished Tuscus, his nurse e son, for presuming when he was procurator of Egypt, to wash in the boths which had been constructed in expectation of his own coming Seneca, his preceptor he forced to kill himself,2 though upon his desir ing leave to retire, and offering to surrender his estate he solemnly swore, that there was no foundation for his suspimone, and that he would perish himself sooner than hurt him. Having promised Burrhus, the protonan prefect, a remedy for a swelling in his throat, he sent him potson. Some old rich freedmen of Claudius, who had formerly not only promoted

<sup>1</sup> AU a. 813.

Sences was accessed of complicity in the compliancy of Calm Pito. I actins familibes some interesting details of the circumstances under which the philosopher calmly submitted to bis fate, which was ansousced to him when at supper with his friends, at his villa, near illome.—Tacdus,

his adoption, but were also instrumental to his advancement to the empire, and had been his governors, he took off by poison given them in their meat or drink

XXXVI Nor did he proceed with less cruelty against those who were not of his family A blazing star, which is vulgarly supposed to portend destruction to kings and princes, appeared above the horizon several nights successively He felt great anxiety on account of this phenomenon, and being informed by one Babilus, an astrologer, that princes were used to expiate such omens by the sacrifice of illustrious persons, and so avert the danger foreboded to their own persons, by bringing it on the heads of their chief men, he resolved on the destruction of the principal nobility in Rome He was the more encouraged to this, because he had some plausible pretence for earrying it into execution, from the discovery of two conspiracies against him, the former and more dangerous of which was that formed by Piso,2 and discovered at Rome, the other was that of Vinicius, at Beneventum The conspirators were brought to their trials loaded with triple fetters Some ingenuously confessed the charge, others avowed that they thought the design against his life an act of favour for which he was obliged to them, as it was impossible in any other way than by death to relieve a person rendered infamous by crimes of the greatest enormity The children of those who had been condemned, were banished the city, and afterwards either poisoned or starved to death It is asserted that some of them, with their tutors, and the slaves who carried their satchels, were all poisoned together at one dinner, and others not suffered to seek their daily bread

XXXVII From this period he butchered, without distinction or quarter, all whom his caprice suggested as objects for his cruelty, and upon the most frivolous pretences. To mention only a few Salvidienus Orfitus was accused of letting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This comet, as well as one which appeared the year in which Claudius died, is described by Seneca, Natural Quast VII c xvii and xix, and by Pliny, II c xxv

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Tacitus, Annal xv 48-55

<sup>3</sup> The sixteenth book of Tacitus, which would probably have given an account of the Vinician conspiracy, is lost. It is shortly noticed by Plutarch.

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out three taverns attached to his house to the forum to some cities for the use of their deputies at Rome. The charge against Cossins Longinus a lawyer who had lost his sight, was, that he kept amongst the busts of his ancesters that of Caius Carsius, who was concerned in the death of Julius Cresar The only charge objected against Partus Thrasen was, that he had a melancholy cast of features, and looked like a school marter He allowed but one hour to those whom he obliged to kill themselves and, to prevent delay he sent them phy meians to core them immediately if they lingered beyond that time, for so he called bleeding them to death was at that time an Egyptian of a most voracious appetite, who would digest raw figsh or any thing elso that was given him. It was credibly reported that the emperor was extremely desiroes of furnishing him with living men to tear and devour Deing clated with his great success ie the per petration of erimes, he deelsred, that no prince before him self over knew the extent of his power' He throw out strong intimations that he would not even spare the senators who survived, but would entirely extirpate that order and put the provinces and armies into the hands of the Roman knights and his own freedmen. It is certain that he nover gave or vouchsafed to allow any one the customary kies, either on entering or departing or even returned a salute. And at the maugnitation of a work, the out through the Isthmus,' he with a lond voice, amidst the assembled multitude uttered a prayer, that the undertaking might prove fortunate for him self and the Roman people. without taking the smallest notice of the senate.

XXXVIII He spared, moreover neither the people of Rome, nor the capital of his country Somebody in conver sation saving—

Euro Sariers; yake use Serve swift.

When I am dead let fire devour the world-

"Nay said he, 'let it be while I am living' [i,ec [general] And he acted accordingly for pretending to be disgusted with the old buildings, and the narrow and winding streets, he set the city on fire so openly that many of consular runk caught his own household servints on their property with twy, and torches in their hands, but durst not meddle with them Their being near his Golden House some granaries, the site of which he exceedingly coveted, they were battered as if with machines of war, and set on fire, the walls being built of stone During six days and seven nights this terrible devastation continued, the people being obliged to fly to the tombs and monuments for lodging and shelter Meanwhile, a vast number of stately buildings, the houses of generals celebrated in former times, and even then still decorated with the spoils of war, were laid in ashes, as well as the temples of the gods, which had been vowed and dedicated by the kings of Rome, and afterwards in the Punic and Gallic wais in short, everything that was remarkable and worthy to be seen which time had spared 1 This fire he beheld from a tower in the house of Meexenas, and "being greatly delighted," as he said, "with the beautiful effects of the conflagration," he sung a poem on the ruin of Troy, in the tragic dress he used on the stage To turn this calamity to his own advantage by plunder and rapine, he promised to remove the bodies of those who had perished in the fire, and clear the rubbish at his own expense, suffering no one to meddle with the remains of their property. But he not only received, but exacted contributions on account of the loss, until he had exhausted the means both of the provinces and private persons

XXXIX To these terrible and shameful calamities brought upon the people by their prince, were added some proceeding from misfortune. Such were a pestilence, by which, within the space of one autumn, there died no less than thirty thousand persons, as appeared from the registers in the temple of Libitina, a great disaster in Britain, where two of the principal towns belonging to the Romans were plundered, and a

<sup>1</sup> This destructive fire occurred in the end of July, or the beginning of August, A.U c 816, A D 64 It was imputed to the Christians, and drew on them the persecutions mentioned in c xvi, and the notc

<sup>2</sup> The revolt in Britain broke out Auc 813 Xiphilinus (lxii p 701) attributes it to the severity of the confiscations with which the repayment of large sums of money advanced to the Britons by the emperor Claudius, and also by Seneca, was exacted Tacitus adds another cause, the insupportable tyranny and avarice of the centurions and soldiers Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, had named the emperor his heir His widow Boadicea and her daughters were shamefully used, his kinsmen reduced to slavery, and his whole territory rayaged, upon which the Britons flew to arms See c xviii, and the note.

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dreadful havee made both amongst our troops and allies a shameful discomfiture of the army of the Last where, in Armena, the legions were obliged to pass under the yoke, and it was with great difficulty that Syria was retained Amidat all there disasters, it was strange and indeed, particularly remarkable that he bore nothing more patiently than the seur rilous language and railing abuse which was in every one s mouth; treating no class of persons with more gentienes, than those who assailed him with invective and lampoons. Many things of that kind were posted np about the city or otherwise published both in Greek and Latin such as these

> Niger, Ogierr., 1) zpalso przysrów. hehunger Niger Iblar untig anixernie Orestes and Alexanon-Vero 100 The histful hero, norst of all the crew Fresh from his bridgl-their own mothers slew Q la neget Ænest magna de stirpe heroacm Smitalit ble matrem antiblit file patrem Sprung from Ences, plows, wise and great, Who says that Nero is degenerate? Safe through the flames, one bore his sire ; the other To save himself took off his loving mother Dum tendit eltherem sester dom cornus Parthus. haster erit I'man ille ! ruftil rug His lyre to harmony our \ero sirings; His errows o er the plain the Parthian whige Ours call the tuneful Pean -famed in war The other Phorbus name, the rod who shoots afar 2 Roma domus fiet : Veice migrate, Quirites, Si non et Vejos occupat ista domus. All Rome will be one bouse; to Vell fig Should it not stretch to Vell, by and by

. .

<sup>1</sup> Nativesper; alloding to Nero a unualitral nuplials with Sporus or Pythagoras. See ce. xxviii. xxix. It should be retorages?

3 \* Bustulit" has a double meaning, signifying both, to bearaway and put out of the way

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The spithet applied to Apollo, as the god of music, was Psean as the god of war EcoraSoliver

<sup>•</sup> Pility remarks, that the Golden House of Nero was swalloning up all Roma. Vol. as anched Estruean city about twerts miles from Roma, was octifuely little inferior to it, being, as Diosystem informs us, (bb. it. p. 18), equal in extent to Athons. See a very accurate survey of the rulus of Vall. In Golf a similariable Torography or Roma AND ITS VICINITY p. 433, of Baks a Edition.

But he neither made any inquiry after the authors, nor when information was laid before the senate against some of them, would he allow a severe sentence to be passed. Isidorus, the Cynic philosopher, said to him aloud, as he was passing along the streets, "You sing the misfortunes of Nauphius well, but behave badly yourself." And Datus, a comic actor, when repeating these words in the piece, "Farewell, father! Farewell mother!" mimicked the gestures of persons drinking and swimming, significantly alluding to the deaths of Claudius and Agrippina and on uttering the last clause,

Orcus vobis ducit pedes,

You stand this moment on the brink of Orcus,

he plainly intimated his application of it to the piecanious position of the senate. Yet Nero only banished the player and philosopher from the city and Italy, either because he was insensible to shame, or from apprehension that if he discovered his vexation, still keener things might be said of him

XL The world, after tolerating such an emperor for little less than fourteen years, at length forsook him, the Gauls, headed by Julius Vindex, who at that time governed the province as pro-prætor, being the first to revolt Nero had been formerly told by astrologers, that it would be his fortune to be at last deserted by all the world, and this occasioned that celebrated saying of his, "An artist can live in any country," by which he meant to offer as an excuse for his practice of music, that it was not only his amusement as a prince, but might be his support when reduced to a private station Yet some of the astrologers promised him, in his forlorn state, the rule of the East, and some in express words the kingdom of Jerusalem But the greater part of them flattered him with assurances of his being restored to his former fortune being most inclined to believe the latter prediction, upon losing Britain and Armenia, he imagined he had run through all the misfortunes which the fates had decreed him But when, upon consulting the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, he was advised to beware of the seventy-third year, as if he were not to die till then, never thinking of Galba's age, he conceived such hopes, not only of living to advanced years, but of constant and singular good fortune, that having lost some things of great value by shipwreck, he scrupled not to say amongst his friends, that

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"the fishes would bring them book to him. At veples he heard of the insurrection is Goul, on the enviverary of the day on which he killed his mother and bore it with so much unconcern, as to exacte a suspicion that he was really glad of it, suce he had now o fair opportunity of plundering these wealthy previnces by the right of war. Immediately going to the gymnaium, he witnessed the exercise of the wristlers with the greatest delight. Being interrupted at supper with letters which brought yet waves nown, he expressed no greater resent ment, than only to threates the rebels. For cight days togsther he never estempted to answer any letters, our give any orders, but buried the whole affair in profound eilence

XLI Being roused at last by numerous proclamations of Vindex, treating him with reprocehes and contempt, he in a letter to the senate exhorted them to avenge his wrongs and those of the republic desiring them to excuse his not eppear ing in the counte house, because he had got cold so much galled him, as to find himself railed at as a pitiful harper and instead of Nero styled Enobarbus: which bonng his family name, sloce he was upbraided with it, he declared that he would resume it, and lay aside the name he had taken by adoption. Passing by the other accumutions as wholly groundless, he carnestly related that of his want of skill in an art upon which he had bestowed so much pains, and in which he had arrived at such perfection asking frequently those about him, if they knew any one who was e more accom plished musician? But being alarmed by messengers after messangers of ill nows from Goul he returned in great coo stornation to Rome. On the road his mind was somewhat relieved by observing the frivolous omen of a Gaulish soldier defeated and dragged by the hair by a Roman knight, which was sculptured on a monument so that he leaped for joy and adored the heavens. Even then he made no appeal either to the senate or people, but calling together some of the leading men at his own house, he held a hasty consultation upon the present state of affairs, and then, during the remainder of the day corried them about with him to view some musical instru ments, of e new invention, which were played by water -

<sup>1</sup> Sectoring calls them organs hydraution and they seem to have been

exhibiting all the parts, and discoursing upon the principles and difficulties of the contrivance, which, he told them, he intended to produce in the theatre, it Vindex would give him leave

XLII Soon afterwards, he received intelligence that Galba and the Spaniards had declared against him, upon which, he fainted, and losing his reason, lay a long time speechless, and apparently dead As soon as he recovered from this state of stupefaction, he tore his clothes, and beat his head, erying out, "It is all over with me" His nurse endeavouring to comfort him, and telling him that the like things had happened to other princes before him, he replied, "I am beyond all example wretched, for I have lost an empire whilst I ain still living" He, nevertheless, abated nothing of his usual luxury and mattention to business. Nay, on the arrival of good news from the provinces, he, at a sumptuous entertainment, sung with an air of merriment some jovial verses upon the leaders of the revolt, which were made public, and accompanied them with suitable gestures Being carried privately to the theatre, he sent word to an actor who was applauded by the spectators, "that he had it all his own way, now that he himself did not appear on the stage "

XLIII At the first breaking out of these troubles, it is believed that he had formed many designs of a monstrous nature, although conformable enough to his natural dispo-These were to send new governors and commanders to the provinces and the armies, and employ assassins to butcher all the former governors and commanders, as men unanimously engaged in a conspiracy against him, to massacre the oxiles in every quarter, and all the Gaulish population in Rome, the former lest they should join the insurrection, the latter as privy to the designs of their countrymen, and ready to supa musical instrument on the same principle as our present organs, only that water was the inflating power Vitruvius (iv ix ) mentions the instrument as the invention of Ctesibus of Alexandria It is also well described by Tertullian, De Anima, c. xiv The pneumatic organ appears to have been a later improvement We have before us a contormate medallion, of Caracalla, from the collection of Mr W S Bohn, upon which one or other of these instruments figures On the obverse is the bust of the emperor in armour, laureated, with the inscription M AURELIUS ANTONIAUS PIUS AUG BRIT (his latest title) On the reverse is the organ, an oblong chest with the pipes above, and a draped figure on each side

port them to abandou Gaul steelf to be wasted and plundered by his armies to poison the whole senate at a feast to fire the city, and then let loose the wild beasts upon the people in order to impede their stopping the progress of the flames. But being deterred from the execution of these designs, not so much by remorse of conscience as by despair of being able to effect them and judging an expedition into Gaul neces-sary he removed the consuls from their office before the time of its expiration was arraved and in their room assumed the consulship himself without a colleague as if the fates had decreed that Gaul should not be conquered but by a consul Upon assuming the fasces, after an outertainment at the polace as he walked out of the room leaning on the arms of some of his friends, he declared that as soon as he arrived in the province he would make his appearance amongst the troops, unarmed, and do nothing but weep; and that, after he had brought the mutineers to repentance, he would the next day in the public rejoicings, sing songs of trumph, which he must now, without loss of time, apply himself to compose.

XLIV In preparing for this expedition, his first care was to provide corrages for his musical instruments and machinery to be used upon the stage to have the hair of the concubines he carried with him dressed in the fashion of men and to supply them with battle-axes, and Amasonian bucklers. He summoned the city tribes to enlist but no qualified persons appearing he ordered all masters to send a certain number of slaves, the best they had, not excepting their stewards and secretaries. He commanded the several orders of the people to bring in a fixed proportion of their estates, as they stood in the censor a books all tenants of houses and managens to pay one year's rent forthwith into the exchequer and with unheard-of strictness, would receive only new coin of the purest silver and the finest gold insomuch that most people refused to pay cry ing out unanimously that he ought to squeeze the informers, and oblige them to surrender their gams.

XLV The general edum in which he was hold recorred an increase by the great scaracty of corn, and an occurrence connected with it. For as it hoppened just at that time, there arrived from Alexandria a ship, which was said to be freighted with dust for the wrestlers belonging to the emperor <sup>1</sup> This so much inflamed the public rage, that he was treated with the utmost abuse and scurrility. Upon the top of one of his statues was placed the figure of a chariot with a Greek inscription, that "Now indeed he had a race to run, let him be gone". A little bag was tied about another, with a ticket containing these words, "What could I do?"—"Truly thou hast merited the sack' <sup>2</sup> Some person likewise wrote on the pillars in the forum, "that he had even woke the cocks with his singing". And many, in the night-time, pretending to find fault with their servants, frequently called for a Vindex <sup>4</sup>

XLVI Ho was also terrified with manifest warnings, both old and new, arising from dreams, auspices, and omens. He had never been used to dream before the murder of his mother. After that event, he fancied in his sleep that he was steering a ship, and that the rudder was forced from him—that he was dragged by his wife Octavia into a prodigiously dark place, and was at one time covered over with a vast swarm of winged ants, and at another, surrounded by the national images which were set up near Pompey's theatre, and hindered from advancing farther, that a Spanish jennet he was fond of, had his hinder parts so changed, as to resemble those of an ape, and having his head only left unaltered, neighed very harmoniously. The doors of the mausoleum of Augustus flying open of themselves, there issued from it a voice, calling on him by name. The Lares being adorned with fresh garlands on the calends (the first) of January, fell down during the preparations for sacrificing to them. While he was taking

A fine sand from the Nile, similar to puzzuelano, which was strewed on the stadium, the wrestlers also rolled in it, when their bodies were

slippery with oil or perspiration

The words on the ticket about the emperor's neck, are supposed, by a prosopopea, to be spoken by him. The reply is Agrippina's, or the people's. It alludes to the punishment due to him for his parricide. By the Roman law, a person who had murdered a parent or any near relation, after being severely scourged, was sewed up in a sack, with a dog, a cock, a viper, and an ape, and then thrown into the sea, or a deep river.

<sup>8</sup> Gallos, which signifies both cocks and Gauls

<sup>4</sup> Vindex, it need hardly be observed, was the name of the proprætor who had set up the standard of rebellion in Gaul The word also signifies an avenger of wrongs, redresser of grievances, hence vindicate, v.r dictive, &c

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the amous, Sporus presented him with a ring the stone of which had carved upon it the Rape of Proscrpine. When a great multitude of the several orders was assembled to attend at the solemoity of making vows to the gods, it was a long time before the keys of the Capitol could be found. And when, in a speech of his to the secunto against Vindex these words were read, that the miscreants should be pusished and soon sails the cod they mented." They all cried out 'Nou will do it, Augustus." It was likewise remarked that the last tragic piece which he sung was tedipus in Exilt and that he foll as he was repeating this viree:

Oath a dipys suppares, agres, curer Wife, mother father force me to my cal.

VLVII Meanshile on the arrival of the news that the rest of the armies had declared against him he tore to pieces the letters which were delivered to him at diamer overthrew the table, and dashed with violence against the ground two favounto cups, which he called Homers because some of that poets verses were cut upon them. Then taking from Locusta a does of poison which he put up in a golden box, he went into the Servillan gardens and thence dispatching a trusty freedman to Ostia, with orders to make ready a fleet, he endeavoured to prevail with some tribunes and centiarons of the pretorian guards to attend him in his flight but part of them showing no great inclination to comply other absolutely refusing, and one of them erying out aload,

Usque adeous mort miserum est

Say is it then so und a thing to die it

he was in great perplexity whether he should solumt himself to Galba, or apply to the Parthians for protection or cles on-pear before the people dressed in mourning, and, upon the restra, in the most piteous manner beg pardon for his post misdementors, and if he could not provail request of them to great him at least the government of Egypt. A speech to this purpose was afterwards found in his writing-case. But it is conjectured that he durnt not venture upon this project, for fear of being torn to pieces, before he could get to the forum. Deferring, therefore his resolution until the next

day, he awoke about midnight, and finding the guards withdrawn he leaped out of bed, and sent round for his friends. But none of them vouchsafing any message in reply, he went with a few attendants to their houses. The doors being every where shut, and no one giving him any answer, he returned to his bed-chamber, whence those who had the charge of it had all now eloped, some having gone one way, and some another, carrying off with them his bedding and box of poison. He then endeavoured to find Spicillus, the gladiator, or some one to kill him, but not being able to procure any one, "What!" said he, "have I then neither friend nor foe?" and immediately ran out, as if he would throw himself into the Tiber.

XLVIII But this furious impulse subsiding, he wished for some place of privacy, where he might collect his thoughts, and his freedman Phaon offering him his country-house, between the Salarian¹ and Nomentan² roads, about four miles from the city, he mounted a horse, barefoot as he was, and in his tunic, only slipping over it an old soiled cloak, with his head muffled up, and an handkerchief before his face, and four persons only to attend him, of whom Sporus was one. He was suddenly struck with horror by an earthquake, and by a flash of lightning which darted full in his face, and heard from the neighbouring camp³ the shouts of the soldiers, wishing his destruction, and prosperity to Galba. He also heard a traveller they met on the road, say, "They are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Via Salaria was so called from the Sabines using it to fetch salt from the coast—It led from Rome to the northward, near the gardens of Sallust, by a gate of the same name, called also Quirinalis, Agonalis, and Collina.—It was here that Alaric entered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Via Nomentana, so named because it led to the Sabine town of Nomentum, joined the Via Salara at Heretum on the Tiber It was also called Ficulnesss It entered Rome by the Porta Viminalis, now called Porta Pia It was by this road that Hannibal approached the walls of Rome The country-house of Nero's freedman, where he ended his days, stood near the Anio, beyond the present church of St. Agnese, where there was a villa of the Spada family, belonging now, we believe, to Torlonia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This description is no less exact than vivid. It was easy for Nero to gain the nearest gate, the Nomentan, from the Esquiline quarter of the palace, without much observation, and on issuing from it (after midmight, it appears), the fugitives would have the pretorian camp so close on their right hand, that they might well hear the shouts of the soldiers.

put together. If any could be found about the house; and water and wood 2 to be get ready for numbella ones al ant his corpus; weeping at every thing that was done and for quantly saying. What an artist is now about to period? "Mean while letters being brought in by a so reant belonging to Phaon he snatched them out of his band, and then read, That he had been declared an enemy by the senale and that reach was making for him that he might be just hid according to the ancient custom of the Romans. He then inquired what kind of punishment that was; and being told that the 1 Decede. Pliny informs to that News had he water be drash boiled to clear it from imputities, and then cooled with ice.

2 Wood, to swant be water for washing theretope and for the formal ode.

LIX All who surrounded him now preving him to eave himself from the indigatites which were really to be fall him he ordered a pit to be sunk before his ener of the size of his body and the bottom to be corn I with these of marilie practice was to strip the criminal naked, and scourge him to death, while his neck was fastened within a forked stake, he was so terrified that he took up two daggers which he had brought with him, and after feeling the points of both, put them up again, saying, "The fatal hour is not yet come" One while, he begged of Sporus to begin to wail and lament, another while, he entreated that one of them would set him an example by killing himself, and then again, he condemned his own want of resolution in these words. "I yet live to my shame and disgrace—this is not becoming for Nero—it is not becoming—Thou oughtest in such circumstances to have a good heart—Come, then—courage, man ""1—The horsemen who had received orders to bring him away alive, were now approaching the house—As soon as he heard them coming, he uttered with a tiembling voice the following verse,

"Ίππων μ' ἀπυπόδων ἀμφὶ πτύπος οὐατα βάλλει<sup>2</sup>
The noise of swift-heel'd steeds assails my ears,

he drove a dagger into his throat, being assisted in the act by Epaphroditus, his secretary. A centurion bursting in just as he was half-dead, and applying his cloak to the wound, pretending that he was come to his assistance, he made no other reply but this, "'Tis too late," and "Is this your loyalty?" Immediately after pronouncing these words, he expired, with his eyes fixed and starting out of his head, to the terror of all who beheld him. He had requested of his attendants, as the most essential favour, that they would let no one have his head, but that by all means his body might be burnt entire. And this, Icelus, Galva's freedman, granted. He had but a little before been discharged from the prison into which he had been thrown, when the disturbances first broke out

L The expenses of his funeral amounted to two hundred thousand sesterces, the bed upon which his body was carried to the pile and burnt, being covered with the white robes, interwoven with gold, which he had worn upon the calends of January preceding. His nurses, Ecloge and Alexandra, with his concubine Acte, deposited his remains in the tomb belong-

<sup>1</sup> This burst of passion was uttered in Greek, the rest was spoken in Latin Both were in familiar use The mixture, perhaps, betrays the disturbed state of Nero's mind

2 Il. x 535.

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ing to the family of it. It mittle with hearths a, in the top of the Hall of the Gard reliand to the seen form the Carry with an altar of mailte of face ever it, is not so by a wall built of stone levely it from Thanse?

II in stature I e was a little believe the community of this skin was fool and agreed. In a fair inclined to yell wis his features were agreed. Indeed then hard we have a rey and doll his each was that. It is the president, his legs very slender his consistent seem! If it they have a sirely leavables in his mode of hising to 134 in the outes of fourteen years, only three fits of suchees; which were as slight that he meither friver the use of win in a rande any alteration in his would it. In his dress at the care of his jerron he was to cardes, that he had his later cut in righ, one above another; and when la whala, he let it gives long lehlad and he generally appeared in public in the losse draw which he would at table with a leantherchief about his neck, and without either a girdle or shore.

III He was instructed when a low in the rulliments of almost all the liberal sciences—but his m ther diverted him from the study of philosophy as unsuited to one destined to be an emperor—and his perceptor. Senses, discouraged him from reading the ancient oratees that he might longer secure his devotion to himself.—Therefore—having a turn for poetry

<sup>1</sup> Colle Hortshawm, which was afterwards called the Fracian Hall, from a faully of that name who four had under the lower empire. In the time of the Cesars it was occupied by the pardens and tilles of the meablys and learnings; arong which those of failust are relevanted. Some of the frost atters has been found in the rut a smoog others, that of the "Dijling Gladatto". The situation was niry and health I, commanding face tieses, and it is still the most agreeable neighbourhood in Rome.

Antiquarian suppose that some relies of the topolcher of the Domilian fruity is which the other of Nero w re deposited, are preserved in the city wall which arelian, when he extracted its circuit carried across the "Callis Hortsborns." Those social remains, deed! lies from the perpendicular are called its Mars Torie —The Lanan murble was brought from quarries near a town of that assoc in Elemia. It no longer cit is, but stood on the coat of what is now called the grill of Spersia.—Thaven, as bised in the Archipelage, was one of the Cyclades. It produced a grey marble much relaced, but not in great request.

he composed verses both with pleasure and ease, nor did ne, as some think, publish those of other writers as his own Several little pocket-books and loose sheets have come into my possession, which contain some well-known verses in his own hand, and written in such a manner, that it was very evident, from the blotting and interlining, that they had not been transcribed from a copy, nor dictated by another, but were written by the composer of them

LIII He had likewise great taste for drawing and painting, as well as for moulding statues in plaster. But, above all things, he most eagerly coveted popularity, being the rival of every man who obtained the applause of the people for any thing he did. It was the general belief, that, after the crowns he won by his performances on the stage, he would the next lustrum have taken his place among the wrestlers at the Olympic games. For he was continually practising that art, nor did he witness the gymnastic games in any part of Greece otherwise than sitting upon the ground in the stadium, as the umpires do. And if a pair of wrestlers happened to break the bounds, he would with his own hands drag them back into the centre of the circle. Because he was thought to equal Apollo in music, and the sun in chariot-driving, he resolved also to imitate the achievements of Hercules. And they say that a hon was got ready for him to kill, either with a club, or with a close hug, in view of the people in the amphitheatre, which he was to perform naked

LIV Towards the end of his life, he publicly vowed, that if his power in the state was securely re-established, he would, in the spectacles which he intended to exhibit in honour of his success, include a performance upon organs, as well as upon flutes and bagpipes, and, on the last day of the games, would act in the play, and take the part of Turnus, as we find it in Virgil And there are some who say, that he put to death the player Paris as a dangerous rival

LV He had an insatiable desire to immortalize his name, and acquire a reputation which should last through all succeeding ages, but it was capriciously directed. He therefore

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took from we rel that somely less that if imer appell it is and give their rewnam. I mised from he own. He called the month of April Norm and I designed changing that muse of De no Into that of Normpoles.

- INTHE Wall regar net in one maps except those of the Syrina Gold. Flat at 1. It a paid her so little reservers that one water up in her. I map now engaged in an it resignation in which ally be of unately persisted locknessing recognized mass in the flat having not held from some obscure plots in a little into of a guil as a preservative againt 1) its and discovering a compared immediately after be containly wishing. I have financiarity into strong water for long to her three sendings lady. He was allowed a form to have it supposed that he had be retailed in from this derivable her attroded a so interconsulating to the Litruscan rites, but the correction when it is supposed that the control water is the control water in the same of the second water in the same water in the smaller.
- IVII the died in the thirty second year of his age 'upon the sume lay on which he had I stantily not Octavia to death; and the jubble joy was so great upon the occasion that the common people ran about the city with caps upon their leads. Some however were u wanting who for all ag timedecked his image upon the rosten dressed in robes of state at anoth a their public did proclamations in his name as if he were still allow and would shortly return to Itome and take vergenare on all his cuttales. Vological king of the Parthians when he cent ambous lords to the senate to renew his alliance with the Homan people carriedly requested that due honour should be paid to the memory of Nero and, to conclude when twenty years afterwards, at which time I was a young man, some person of obscure birth gave himself out for Nero that name secured I im so favourable a reception

<sup>1</sup> The Syrian Godders is supposed to have been Semiramis deliced. It refers are mentioned by Florus Apulcius, and Lucian.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> We have here one of the incidental notices which are so valuable in an historian, as connecting him with the times of which he writes. See sho just before c. lit.

from the Parthians, that he was very zealously supported, and it was with much difficulty that they were prevailed upon to give him up

THOUGH no law had ever passed for regulating the transmission of the imperial power, yet the design of conveying it by lineal descent was implied in the practice of adoption. By the rule of hereditary succession, Britannicus, the son of Claudius, was the natural heir to the throne, but he was supplanted by the artifices of his stepmother, who had the address to procure it for her own son, Nero From the time of Augustus it had been the custom of each of the new sovereigns to commence his reign in such a manner as tended to acquire popularity, however much they all afterwards degenerated from those specious beginnings Whether this proceeded entirely from policy, or that nature was not yet vitiated by the intoxication of uncontrolled power, is uncertain, but such were the excesses into which they afterwards plunged, that we can scarcely exempt any of them, except, perhaps, Claudius, from the imputation of great original depravity The vicious temper of Tiberius was known to his own mother, Livia, that of Caligula had been obvious to those about him from his infancy, Claudius seems to have had naturally a stronger tendency to weakness than to vice, but the inherent wickedness of Nero was discovered at an early period by his preceptor, Seneca Yet even this emperor commenced his reign in a manner which procured him approbation Of all the Roman emperors who had lutherto reigned, he seems to have been most corrupted by profligate favourites, who flattered his follies and vices, to promote their own aggrandisement In the number of these was Tigellinus, who met at last with the fate which he had so amply merited.

The several reigns from the death of Augustus present us with uncommon scenes of cruelty and horror, but it was reserved for that of Nero to exhibit to the world the atrocious act of an em-

peror deliberately procuring the death of his mother

Julia Agrippina was the daughter of Germanicus, and married Domitius Ænobarbus, by whom she had Nero At the death of Messalina she was a widow, and Claudius, her uncle, entertaining a design of entering again into the married state, she aspired to an incestuous alliance with him, in competition with Lollia Paulina, a woman of beauty and intrigue, who had been married to C. Cæsar The two rivals were strongly supported by their

respective parties; but Agrippins, by her superior interest with the emperor a farourites and the familianty to which her near relation gave her a claim obtained the preference; and the portentons puptuals of the emperor and his niece were publicle colemnized in the palace. Whether she wa prompted to this flagrant indecency by personal amintion alon or by the desire of procupage the succes was till e emerce for her son a upcer tain; but there remains no doul tof her having removed Claudius by person with a view to the elject now mentioned. Besides Claudius she projected the death of L. bilann and she acrom plished that of his brother Junius Silanu by in ans likewise of pois m. She appears to have been noble endowed with the gills of patere but in her duposition interming an lent, inte rious and ready to sacrifice every principle of virtue in the pur suit of supreme power or separal gratification. Is she resemiled Livia In the amintion of a mather and the means by which sha induled it so she more than equalled her in the ingratitude of an unnatural son and a parricide the is said to he left leftend her some memoirs of which Tacitus availed hims If in the composition of his Aptuals

In this reign, the conquest of the Briters still continued to be the principal object of tail tary enterprise and hartonius l'aulinus was invested with the command of the I oman army employed in the reduction of that people. The I land of Mor a, now Angleser being the chief seat of the Brust he reselved to a marnee his operations with attacking a place which was the centre of super station, and to which the ranquished But me retreated as the la tastlum of liberty. The inhabitants endeavoured both by force of arms and the terrors of religion to obstruct his landing on this sacred island. The women and Drusds assembled promisenously with the soldiers upon the shore where running about in wild disorder with flaming torches in their hands and pouring forth the most hideous exclamate ps they struck the Romans with construction Ilut Suctonius animating his troops they boldly attacked the inhabitants routed them in the filld and burned the Druids in the same fires which had been prepared by those priests for the estastrophe of the invaders destroving at the same time all the consecrated groves and alters in the island. Suctonius having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons flattered himself with the hopes of soon effecting the reduction of the people. But they encouraged by his absence had taken arms and under the conduct of Budders. queen of the Iceni, who had been treated in the most ignominious manner by the Roman tribunes, had already driven the haughty invaders from their several settlements. Suctonius hastened to the protection of London, which was by this time a flourishing Roman colony, but he found upon his arrival, that any attempt to preserve it would be attended with the utmost danger to the London therefore was reduced to ashes, and the Romans, and all strangers, to the number of seventy thousand, were put to the sword without distinction, the Britons seeming determined to convince the enemy that they would acquiesce in no other terms than a total evacuation of the island This massacre, however, was revenged by Suetonius in a decisive engagement, where eighty thousand of the Britons are said to have been killed, after which, Boadicea, to avoid falling into the hands of the insolent conquerors, put a period to her own life by means of poison It being judged unadvisable that Suetonius should any longer conduct the war against a people whom he had exasperated by his severity, he was recalled, and Petronius Turpihanus appointed in his room The command was afterwards given successively to Trebellius Maximus and Vettius Bolanus, but the plan pursued by these generals was only to retain, by a conciliatory administration, the parts of the island which had already submitted to the Roman arms

During these transactions in Britain, Neio himself was exhi biting, in Rome or some of the provinces, such scenes of extravagance as almost exceed credibility In one place, entering the lists amongst the competitors in a chariot race, in another, contending for victory with the common musicians on the stage, revelling in open day in the company of the most abandoned prostitutes and the vilest of men, in the night, committing depredations on the peaceful inhabitants of the capital, polluting with detestable lust, or drenching with human blood, the streets, the palace, and the habitations of private families, and, to crown his enormities, setting fire to Rome, while he sung with delight in beholding the dreadful conflagration In vain would history be ransacked for a parallel to this emperor, who united the most shameful vices to the most extravagant vanity, the most abject meanness to the strongest but most preposterous ambition, and the whole of whose life was one continued scene of lcwdness, sensuality, rapine, cruelty, and folly It is emphatically observed by Tacitus, "that Nero, after the muider of many illustrious personages, manifested a desire of extirpating virtue itself"

Among the excesses of Nero's reign, are to be mentioned the horrible cruelties exercised against the Christians in various parts of the empire, in which inhuman transactions the natural barbarity of the emperor was inflamed by the prejudices and interested policy of the pagan priesthood

The termi scrupled not to clearge them with the set of burn hig flower, and he satisted his fore against it can by such out riggs as are measurpled in fustory. They were covered with the lins of will least and term by do as were crusted and set on fire that they mill, it serve for lights in the milh time herm offered his gardent for this spectacle and exhalted the games of the Circu. In this dreadful illumin tion. Sementines they were contrared with war and they combustible material after which a sharp stake was put under their clim to make the material stand uppn, but, and they were burnet aline to gate light to the

apretators.

In the person of Nero It is observed by Suctomin the race I the Cavars breame extinct; a race rendered illu triou by the first and second emperors but which their succes is no les disgraced. The despotiers of John Carear thou h haughty and imperious wa liberal and humane ; that of Augustu il we's clude a few instances of vin list to seventy toward individuals was mild and conciliating a lost the reigns of Tiberin Calignia, and hero (for we except Claudius from part of the een ure) while discriminated from each other ly some peculiar circum stances exhibited the most flagrant acts of licentiousness and perfected authority. The most abominable last, the most extravagent luxury the most sham ful rapacion ners, and the most inhuman cruelty, constitute the ground characters two of those careferous and d testable tyrants. Repeated experience now clearly refuted the opinion of turnstue that he had introduced amongst the Romans the best form of government but while we make this observation it is proper to remark that, had he even restored the repullic there is trason to behere that the nation would again have been soon distracted with internal divisions, and a perjectual succession of eavil wars. The manners of the people were become too dissolute to be restrained by the authority of elective and temporary magnetrates; and the Ro-mans were hastening to that fatal period when general and great corruption, with its attendant debility would render them an easy prey to any foreign invaders

• But the odiou government of the emperors was not the only grierance under which the people laboured in those disa trous times; patrician ararice concurred with imperial rapacity to increase the sufferings of the mation. The senators even during the commonwealth, last become openity corrupt in the dispensation of public justice; and under the government of the emperors this permicions altuse was practileed to a yet greater extent. That class being now equally with other Homan citizens dependent on the sorrecting power, their sentiments of duty and.

honour were degraded by the loss of their former dignity, and being likewise deprived of the lucrative governments of provinces, to which they had annually succeeded by an elective rotation in the times of the republic, they endeavoured to compensate the reduction of their emoluments by an unbounded venality in the judicial decisions of the forum. Every source of national happiness and prosperity was by this means destroyed. The possession of property became precarious, industry, in all its branches, was effectually discouraged, and the amor patrix, which had formerly been the animating principle of the nation, was almost universally extinguished

It is a circumstance corresponding to the general singularity of the present reign, that, of the few writers who flourished in it, and whose works have been transmitted to posterity, two ended their days by the order of the emperor, and the third, from indignation at his conduct. These unfortunate victims were Se-

neca, Petronius Arbiter, and Lucan

SENECA was born about six years before the Christian æra, and gave early indication of uncommon talents. His father, who had come from Corduba to Rome, was a man of letters, particularly fond of declamation, in which he instructed his son, and placed him, for the acquisition of philosophy, under the most celebrated stoics of that age Young Seneca, imbibing the precepts of the Pythagorean doctrine, religiously abstained from eating the flesh of animals, until Tiberius having threatened to punish some Jews and Egyptians, who abstained from certain meats, he was persuaded by his father to renounce the Pythagorean practice. Seneca displayed the talents of an eloquent speaker, but dreading the jealousy of Caligula, who aspired to the same excellence, he thought proper to abandon that pursuit, and apply himself towards suing for the honours and offices of the state He accordingly obtained the place of questor, in which office incurring the importation of a scandalons amour with Julia Livia, he removed from Rome, and was banished by the emperor Claudius to Corsica

Upon the marriage of Claudius with Agrippina, Seneca was recalled from his exile, in which he had remained near eight years, and was appointed to superintend the education of Nero, now destined to become the successor to the throne. In the character of preceptor he appears to have acquitted himself with ability and credit, though he has been charged by his enemies with having initiated his pupil in those detestable vices which disgraced the reign of Nero. Could he have indeed been guilty of such immoral conduct, it is probable that he would not so easily have

forfeited the farour of that emperer; and it is more reasonable to suppose that his disapprobation of Sero's conduct was the real cause of that edium whi h sorn after proved fatal to him. By the enemies whom di tinguished ment and virtue perer fail to excite at a prof gate court Cenera was accused of having maintained a criminal correspondence with Agrippina in the life-time of Claudius; but the chief author of this calumny was builtus who had been bens hed from Rome at the instance of Seneca. He was likewise charged with having amassed ex orbitant riches with having built magnificent houses and formed beautiful gardens during the four years in which he had acted as preceptor to Nero. This char e he considered as a prelude to his destruction; which to avoid, if per the he requested of the emperor to accept of the riches and possessings which he had acquired in his situation at court and to permit him to withdraw himself into a lif of stu hous retirement. Nero, dissembling his secret intentions refused this request; and Sepres that he might olimate all cause of suspenon or offence kept himself at home for some time under the pretest of induposition.

Upon the breaking out of the conspirary of I so in which some of the principal senators were concerned Natalia, the discorerer of the plot mentioned Senera a name as an accessory There is however no satisfactory evidence that Seners had any knowledge of the plot. Piso, according to the declaration of ha talis had complained that he never saw Senees; and the latter had observed in answer that it was not conductee to their com mon interest to see each other often. Seneca likewise pleaded indisposition and said that his own life depended upon the safety of Pi na person. Sero, however glad of such an occasion of ascriffeing the philosopher to his secret Jealousy sent him an order to destroy himself. When the messenger arrived with this mandate Seneca was atting at table with his wife Paulina and two of his friends. Ho heard the message not only with philosophical firmness, but even with aymptoms of joy and observed, that such an honour might long have been expected from a man who had assassinated all his friends and even murdered his own mother. The only request which he made was, that he might be permitted to dispose of his possessions as he pleased; but this was refused him. Immediately turning himself to his friends, who were weeping at his melancholy fate he said to them, that since he could not leave them what he considered as his own property he should leave at least his own life for an axample; an innocence of conduct which they might imitate. and by which they might acquire immortal fame. He remonstrated with composure against their unavailing tears and

lamentations, and asked them, whether they had not learnt better to sustain the shocks of fortune, and the violence of tyranny?

The emotions of his wife he endeavoured to allay with philosophical consolation, and when she expressed a resolution to die with him, he said, that he was glad to find his example imitated with so much fortitude The veins of both were opened at the same time, but Nero's command extending only to Seneca, the life of Paulina was preserved, and, according to some authors, she was not displeased at being prevented from earrying her precipitate resolution into effect. Seneca's veins bleeding but slowly, an opportunity was offered him of displaying in his last moments a philosophical magnanimity similar to that of Socrates, and it appears that his conversation during this solemn period was maintained with dignified composure ferate his lingering fate, he drank a dose of poison, but this producing no effect, he ordered his attendants to carry him into a warm bath, for the purpose of rendering the hamorrhage from his veins more copious. This expedient proving likewise ineffectual, and the soldiers who witnessed the execution of the emperor's order being clamorous for its accomplishment, he was removed into a stove, and suffocated by the steam went his fate on the 12th of April, in the sixty-fifth year of the Christian æra, and the fifty-third year of his age. His body was burnt, and his ashes deposited in a private manner, according to his will, which had been made during the period when he was in the highest degree of favour with Nero

The writings of Seneca are numerous, and on various subjects His first composition, addressed to Novacus, is on Angel, and continued through three books. After giving a lively description of this passion, the author discusses a variety of questions concerning it he argues strongly against its utility, in contradiction to the peripatetics, and recommends its restraint, by many just and excellent considerations. This treatise may be regarded, in its general outlines, as a philosophical amplification

of the passage in Horace -

Ira furor brevis est animum rege, qui, nisi paret, Imperat hunc frænis, hunc tu compesce catena

Epist I 11.

Anger's a fitful madness rein thy mind, Subdue the tyrant, and in fetters bind, Or be thyself the slave

The next treatise is on Consolation, addressed to his mother, Helvia, and was written during his exile. He there informs his mother that he bears his banishment with fortitude, and advises her to do the same. He observes, that, in respect to himself,

rhange of place powerty Ignominy and confernit are not tree evile; that there may be two reason if r her annety on his account; first that I v lie absence also is departed of his protection; and in the sext place of the satisfaction an ing from his company; on both which keeds he suggests a variety of pertinent observation. Prefeted to this treat is are some engram written on the landaminator Senera, but whisther or

not by him off is uncertain.

Immedia of subsequent to the procedum is another treatise on Consolition soldies of a set of Claudius affectionen named logistics preliage after the learned Instonan. In this treat was the interest parts mutisted, the author endeavores to consol I objetus for the less of a lot there who had lately deal. The rentiments and administration are well suggested for the purpose; but they are intermixed with such fillow encountries of the imperial demostic a degrade the dign to of the author and can be serified to no other most or than that of endeavoring to procure a recall from his cashe through the interest of Iobit no.

A fourth treatic on Consolution is addressed to Marcia, a respectable and opulent lady the dangher of tremutins Corden, by whose death site was deeply affected. The nutter besides many comolatory arguments proposes for her imitation a number of examples by attending to what site may be enabled to over come a passion that it is funded only in too great according to the form of the consolidation of mind. The subject is ingeniously prosecuted not without the oversional mixture of some delicated failurer naturable to the charge.

racter of the correspondent

These consolatory addresses are f llowed by a treatise on Providence which eviners the author to have entertained the most just and philosophical centiners on that subject. He infers the necessary existence of a Providence from the regularity and constance observed in the government of the universe but his chief object is to show why upon the principle that a Iroridence exist pood men should be hable to evid. The enquiry is conducted with a sarrety of just observations and great force of arguments by which the author vindicates the goodness and wisdom of the Almighty in a strain of sentiment corresponding to the most approved suggestions of natural religion.

The next treatise which is on Tranquillity of Mind appears to have been written soon after his return from exile. There is a confusion in the arrangement of this treet but it contains a variety of just observations, and may be regarded as a valuable

moduction.

Then follows a discourse on the Constancy of a Wise Man. This has by some been considered as a part of the preceding treatise, but they are evidently distinct. It is one of the author's best productions, in regard both of sentiment and composition, and contains a fund of moral observations, suited to fortify the mind under the oppression of accidental calamities.

We next meet with a tract on Clemency, in two books, addressed to Nero This appears to have been written in the beginning of the reign of Neio, on whom the author bestows some high encomiums, which, at that time, seem not to have been destitute of foundation. The discourse abounds with just observation, applicable to all ranks of men, and, if properly attended to by that infatuated emperor, might have prevented the perpetration of those acts of cruelty, which, with his other extravagancies, have rendered his name odious to posterity

The discourse which succeeds is on the Shortness of Life, addressed to Paulinus. In this excellent treatise the author endeavours to show, that the complaint of the shortness of life is not founded in truth that it is men who make life short, either by passing it in indolence, or otherwise improperly. He inveighs against indolence, luxury, and every unprofitable avocation, observing, that the best use of time is to apply it to the study of wisdom, by which life may be rendered sufficiently long.

Next follows a discourse on a Happy Life, addressed to Gallio Seneca seems to have intended this as a vindication of himself, against those who calumniated him on account of his riches and manner of living. He maintained that a life can only be rendered happy by its conformity to the dictates of virtue, but that such a life is perfectly compatible with the possession of riches, where they happen to accrue. The author pleads his own cause with great ability, as well as justness of argument. His vindication is in many parts highly beautiful, and accompanied with admirable sentiments respecting the moral obligations to a virtuous life. The conclusion of this discourse bears no similarity, in point of composition, to the preceding parts, and is evidently spurious.

The preceding discourse is followed by one upon the Retirement of a Wise Man. The beginning of this tract is wanting, but in the sequel the author discusses a question which was much agitated amongst the Stoics and Epicureans, viz, whether a wise man ought to concern himself with the affairs of the public. Both these sects of philosophers maintained that a life of retirement was most suitable to a wise man, but they differed with respect to the circumstances in which it might be proper to deviate from this conduct, one party considering the deviation

as prudent, when there emitted a just matter for such conduct, and the other when there we no forcible reason against it. Sences regard both these opins in a founded upon principles inadequate to the advancement both of pold eastly private lapput ness, which ought ever to be the ultimate of ject of moral speculation.

TETH

The last of the authors discourse addressed to Thurus is on Benefit and continued throu is series I whis. He begins with famenting the frequency of ingratius to amongst mankind a vice which he secretly censures. After some proliminary confiderations respecting the nature of benefit he proceed to show in what manner and co whom, they ought to be conferred. The greater part of these book is employed on the slut in of he strart questions relative to be of its in the manner of Chry tipm where the author states explicitly the arguments on 1 th sides and from the full consideration of them, deduces rational concluding

The pistles of Senera con it of one hundred and twenty four all on moral sulgerts. His Natural Questions extend through several works in which he has collected the hypotheses of An total and other accient uniter. These are followed by a whimnical effusion on the death of Calagula. The rem indeed of his works comprises seven I enuisite Discourses, fire books of Louitovernies and len books containing harmats of Declamations.

From the multiplicity of Seneral production it is evident that notwithstanding the luxurous life he is said to have led, he was greatly devoted to literature a propensity which, it is proliable was confirmed by his binehment during almost en ht years in the island of Corsica where he was in a great degree secluded from every other resource of amusement to a cultivated saind But with whatever splendour Seneca a domestic economy may have been supported, it seems highly improbable that he indulged himself in luxurious enjoyment to any virsous exerts. His aitu ation at the Homan court, being honourable and important could not fail of being likewise advantageou not only from the impe rial profusion common at that time but from many contingent emoluments which his extensive interest and patronage would naturally afford him. He was born of a respectable rank lived In habits of familiar intercourse with persons of the first dis tinction, and if in the course of his attendance upon Aero, he had acquired a large fortune no blame could justly attach to his conduct in maintaining an elegant hospitality. The imputation of luxury was thrown upon him from two quarters viz. by the dissolute companions of hero to whom the mention of such an example served as an apology for their own extreme duripation ;

and by those who envied him for the affluence and dignity which he had acquired. The charge, however, is supported only by vague assertion, and is discredited by every consideration which ought to have weight in determining the reality of human characters. It seems totally inconsistent with his habits of literary industry, with the vintuous sentiments which he every where strenuously maintains, and the esteem with which he was regarded by a numerous acquaintance, as a philosopher and a moralist

The writings of Seneca have been traduced almost equally with his manner of living, though in both he has a claim to indulgence, from the fushion of the times He is more studious of minute embellishments in style than the writers of the Augustan age, and the didactic strain, in which he mostly prosecutes his subjects, has a tendency to render him sententious, but the expression of his thoughts is neither enfeebled by decoration, nor involved in obscurity by conciseness. He is not more rich in artificial ornament than in moral admonition Sencea has been charged with depreciating former writers, to render himself more conspicuous, a charge which, so far as appears from his writings, is founded rather in negative than positive testimony He has not endeavoured to establish his fame by any affectation of singularity in doctrine, and while he passes over in silence the names of illustrious authors, he avails himself with judgment of the most valuable stores with which they had enriched philosophy On the whole, he is an author whose principles may be adopted not only with safety, but great advantage, and his writings merit a degree of consideration, superior to what they have hitherto ever enjoyed in the literary world

Seneca, besides his prose works, was the author of some tragedies. The Medea, the Troas, and the Hippolytus, are ascribed to him. His father is said to have written the Hercules Furens, Thyestes, Agamemnon, and Hercules Etwus. The three remaining tragedies, the Thebais, Edipus, and Octavia, usually published in the same collection with the seven preceding, are supposed to be the productions of other authors, but of whom, is uncertain. These several pieces are written in a neat style, the plots and characters are conducted with an attention to probability and nature but none of them is so forcible, in point of tragical distress, as to excite in the reader any great degree of

emotion ----

Petronius was a Roman knight, and apparently of considerable fortune. In his youth he seems to have given great application to polite literature, in which he acquired a justness of taste, as well as an elegance of composition. Early initiated in the galetics



one of Petronius's slaves, whom he had secretly suborned to swear against his master After this transaction, to deprive Petronius of all means of justifying himself, they threw into prison the greatest part of his domesties. Nero embraced with joy the opportunity of removing a man, to whom he knew the present manners of the court were utterly obnoxious, and he soon after issued orders for arresting Petronius As it required, however, some time to deliberate whether they should put a person of line consideration to death, without more evident proofs of the charges preferred against him, such was his disgust at living in the power of so detestable and enpriesons a tyrant, that he resolved to die For this purpose, making choice of the same expedient which had been adopted by Seneca, he caused his veins to be opened, but he closed them again, for a little time, that he might enjoy the conversation of his friends, who came to see him in his last He desired them, it is said, to entertain him, not with discourses on the immortality of the soul, or the consolation of philosophy, but with agreeable tales and poetic gallantries Disdaining to imitate the servility of those who, dying by the orders of Nero, yet made him their heir, and filled their wills with encomiums on the tyrant and his favourites, he broke to pieces a goblet of precious stones, out of which he had commonly drank, that Nero, who he knew would seize upon it after his death, might not have the pleasure of using it As the only present suitable to such a prince, he sent him, under a scaled cover, his Satyricon, written purposely against him, and then broke his signet, that it might not, after his death, become the means of accusation against the person in whose custody it should be found

The Satyricon of Petronius is one of the most eurious productions in the Latin language. Novel in its nature, and without any parallel in the works of antiquity, some have imagined it to be a spurious composition, fabricated about the time of the revival of learning in Europe. This conjecture, however, is not more destitute of support, than repugnant to the most eircumstantial evidence in favour of its authenticity. Others, admitting the work to be a production of the age of Nero, have questioned the design with which it was written, and have consequently imputed to the anthor a most immoral intention. Some of the scenes, incidents, and characters, are of so extraordinary a nature, that the description of them, without a particular application, must have been regarded as extremely whimsical, and the work, notwithstanding its ingenuity, has been doomed to perpetual oblivion but history justifies the belief, that in the court of Nero, the "xtravagancies mentioned by Petronius were re-

a.z. I to a degree which authenticates the representation given of them. The immital character of Trimalchie which exhibits a person sunk in the most debouched efferninger was drawn for Nero; and we are a ured, that there were formerly modal of that emperor with they word C. Nero 1 7 1 Imp and on the reverse Transles o The varsous charact is are well disemminated and supported with admiral le propriety was such herntousness of description united to such delicacy of colouring. The force of the sature con it is not in poignancy of sentiment but in the redicule which are es from the whimsical but characteristic and faithful abilition of the objects introduced. That Vero was struck with the fo tuess of the represeptation, is evident from the distleasure which he showed at fin hing I etrentus so well acquainted with he infamous excesses After levelling his suspicion on all who could gow ibly have betraved him, he at last fixed on a sensior s wife named filin, who bore a part in his revels and was an intimate friend of I ctronius upon which she was immediately sent into bunishment. Amongst the miscellaneous materials in this work are some pieces of poetry written in an elegant taste. A poem on the civil war between Carear and 1 mpey is beautiful and animated

Though the Musics appear to have been mostly in a quirscent state from the time of Augustus we find from Petronius Arbiter who exhibits the manners of the capital during the reign of Ners, that poetry still continued to be a favorate pursuit amongst the Homans and one to which, indeed, they seem to have

had a national propensity

Romalida saturi, quid dia pos mata narrrat. Perstu Sel 1, 30

- hay more! Our nobles garged, an tavilled with wine Call o or the hanguet for a lay divine t-Gifferd.

It was cultirated as a kied of fashionable recreise in short and desultory attempts in which the chief ambution was to produce verses extempore. They were publicly recrited by their authors with great extentions; and a favoural leverdet from an authoric however partial and frequently obtained citier by intringue or bribery was construct by those frivolous pretenders into a real saligidation of poetical fame.

The custom of publicly recting poetled compositions with the view of obtaining the opinion of the hearers concerning them and for which purpose Augustus had built the Temple of Apollo, was well estendated for the improvement of tests and judgment, as well as the excitement of cambaition; but, conducted as i now says it led to a general degradation of poetry. Barbansum in

ianguage, and a corruption of taste, were the natural consequences of this practice, while the judgment of the multitude was either blind or venal, and while public approbation sance tioned the crudities of hasty composition. There arose, however, in this period, some candidates for the bays, who carried their efforts beyond the narrow limits which custom and inacequate genius prescribed to the poetical exertions of their contemporaries. Amongst these were Lucan and Persius.

LUCAN was the son of Annæus Mela, the brother of Seneca, the philosopher He was born at Corduba, the original residence of the family, but came early to Rome, where his promising talents, and the patronage of his uncle, recommended him to the favour of Nero, by whom he was raised to the dignity of an augur and questor before he had attained the usual age. Prompted by the desire of displaying his political abilities, he had the imprudence to engage in a competition with his imperial The subject chosen by Nero was the tragical fate of Niobe, and that of Lucan was Orpheus The ease with which the latter obtained the victory in the contest, excited the icalousy of the emperor, who resolved upon depressing his rising genius With this view, he exposed him duily to the mortification of fresh insults, until at last the poet's resentment was so much provoked, that he entered into the conspiracy of Piso for cutting The plot being discovered, there remained for off the tyrant the unfortunate Lucan no hope of pardon and choosing the same mode of death which was employed by his uncle, he had his veins opened, while he sat in a warm bath, and expired in pronouncing with great emphasis the following lines in his Pharsalia

> Scinditur avulsus, nec sicut vulnere sanguis Emicuit lentus ruptis cadit undique venis, Discursusque animæ diversa in membra meantis Interceptus aquis, nullius, vita perempti Est tantâ dimissa vià —Lib ni 638

— Assuder flies the man
No single wound the gaping rupture seems,
Where trickling crimson flows in tender streams,
But from an opening horrible and wide
A thousand vessels pour the bursting tide,
At once the winding channel's course was broke,
Where wandering life her mazy journey took—Rowe

Some authors have said that he betrayed pusillanizity at the hour of death, and that, to save himself from punishment, he

accused his mother of bring functivel in the conspiracy. This current tance I owerest I is a mentioned for effect with a bloom relate on the existracy that he had with philosophical firmula.

He was then only in the twenty a 1th year of he age

Lucan bad scarrely read of the age of pulserty when he works a reem on the contest between Herter and I like He als. omy wed in his y with a pomenthe burning flower lather only surviving with a the Ile sale written on the civil war between Co ar and I empey. The poem, con a ting of ten 1 4s I unfine hed, and its character 1 been in re-deprecas. I than that of any oth rips luction of antiquity. In the jim fille poom, the author prosecutes the different exent in the ciliwar leginning his narratite at the proge of the lithium by Corp. He in the not the muses nor en-ages any god in the dipute but endeasours to supply a an epic dignity by a gour of sent ment and splendour of description. The borners of each man an I tl importance of a contest which was to determine the I te of Home and the empire of the world are haplayed with variety of colouring and great energy of expression. In the description of acenes and the recital of Lerrae actions the author ducovers a strong and lively im gination; while in those parts of the work which are a ldressed e ther to the understanding or the pessions he is hold, figurative and animated. Indulging ton much in amplification, he is upt to tire with probaity; but in all his excursions he is ardent elerated, impressive and often brilliant. If a versification he not the smoothness which we admire in the compositions of Virgil and his language is often involved in the intriescies of technical construction; but with all ble defects his legatics are numerous; and he discovers a creater degree of ment than is commonly found in the productions of a port of twenty-six years of age at which time he died .--

Prestre was born at Volsterre of an equestrian family about the beginning of the Christian sera. His father dying when he was six years old he was left ut the caro of his mother for whom and for his sisters he expresses the warmest affection. At the age of twelve he came to Home where after attenting a course of grammar and rictoria under the respective masters of those branches of riduction be placed binned! under the tuition of An news Cornutus, a celebrated stole philosopher of that time. There subsisted between him and this preceptor so great a framidalp, that at his death which happened in the twenty until year of his age the bequesthed to Cornutus a handsome sum of money and his thirsty. The latter however accepting only the books, left the money to I critical a sisters.

Priscian, Quintilian, and other ancient writers, speak of Persius's satires as consisting of a book without any division They have since, however, been generally divided into six different satires, but by some only into five The subjects of these compositions are, the vanity of the poets in his time, the backwardness of youth to the cultivation of moral science, ignorance and temerity in political administration, chiefly in allusion to the government of Nero the fifth satire is employed in evincing that the wise man also is free, in discussing which point, the author adopts the observations used by Horace on the same subject. The last satire of Persius is directed against ava-In the fifth, we meet with a beautiful address to Cornutus, whom the author celebrates for his amiable virtues, and peculiar The following lines, at the same time that talents for teaching they show how diligently the preceptor and his pupil were employed through the whole day in the cultivation of moral science, afford a more agreeable picture of domestic comfort and philosophical conviviality, than might be expected in the family of a rigid stoic

> Tecum etenim longos memini consumere soles, Et tecum primas epulis decerpere noctes Unum opus, et requiem pariter disponimus ambo Atque verecundà laxamus feria mensà —Sat v

Can I forget how many a summer's day,
Spent in your converse, stole, unmarked, away?
Or how, while listening with increased delight,
I snatched from feasts the earlier hours of night?—Gifford

The satires of Persius are written in a free, expostulatory, and argumentative manner, possessing the same justness of sentiment as those of Horace, but exerted in the way of derision, and not with the admirable raillery of that facetious author. They are regarded by many as obscure, but this imputation arises more from unacquaintance with the characters and manners to which the author alludes, than from any peculiarity either in his language or composition. His versification is harmonious, and we have only to remark, in addition to similar examples in other Latin writers, that, though Persius is acknowledged to have been both virtuous and modest, there are in the fourth satire a few passages which cannot decently admit of being translated. Such was the freedom of the Romans, in the use of some expressions, which just refinement has now exploded——

Another poet, in this period, was Fabricius Veiento, who wrote a severe satire against the priests of his time, as also one

against the senators for corruption in their judicial capacity Nothing remains of either of those productions; but, for the latter the author was landshed by Nero.

There now likesise from hed a lyree poet, Cruius Brausto whom I cruius has addirested his visits sature. He is said to have been, next to Herace the best lyric poet among the Homans; but of his various compositions only a few mechanicrable fragments are preserved.

To the two poets now mentioned must be added Postrosites Fretwore a man of dutinguished rank in the army and who obtained the honour of a tramph for a retory over a tribe of barbarans in Cermany. He woste several tragedies which in the judgmen of Questland, were beautiful composit, as

## SERGIUS SULPICIUS GALBA.

I The race of the Cosars became extinct in Nero, an event prognosticated by various signs, two of which were particularly significant Formerly, when Livia, after her marriage with Augustus, was making a visit to her villa at Vcii, an eagle flying by, let drop upon her lap a hen, with a sprig of laurel in her mouth, just as she had seized it Livia gave orders to have the hen taken care of, and the sping of launch set, and the hen reared such a numerous brood of chickens, that the villa, to this day, is called the Villa of the Hens The laurel grove2 flourished so much, that the Cæsars procured thence the boughs and crowns they bore at their triumphs It was also their constant custom to plant others on the same spot, immediately after a triumph, and it was observed that, a little before the death of each prince, the tree which had been set by him died away But in the last year of Nero, the whole plantation of laurels perished to the very 100ts, and the hens all About the same time, the temple of the Cæs urs3 being struck with lightning, the heads of all the statues in it fell off at once, and Augustus's sceptre was dashed from his hands

II Nero was succeeded by Galba, who was not in the remotest degree allied to the family of the Cæsars, but, without doubt, of very noble extraction, being descended from a great and ancient family, for he always used to put amongst his other titles, upon the bases of his statues, his being great-grandson to Q Catulus Capitolinus. And when he came to

1 Ven, see the note, Nero, c axxix

And poets sage,"—Spenser's Faerre Queen is retained throughout the translation. But the tree or shrub which had this distinction among the ancients, the Laurus nobilis of botany, the Daphne of the Greeks, is the bay-tree, indigenous in Italy, Greece, and the East, and introduced into England about 1562. Our laurel is a plant of a very different tribe, the Prunus lauro-cerasus, a native of the Levant and the Crimea, acclimated in England at a later period than the bay

3 The Temple of the Cæsars is generally supposed to be that dedicated by Julius Cæsar to *Venus genitrux*, from whom the Julian family pretended to derive their des ent See Julius, c lxi., Augustus, c ci

4 Auc 821.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The conventional term for what is most commonly known as, "The Laurel, meed of mighty conquerors,

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be emperor he set up the images of his ancestors in the hall of the pulse. necording to the insert it does not which he carried up his pedigree on the father a side to Jupiter and by the mother's to Parij has the wife of Mines.

III To give even a short arcount of the whol family would be tediou I shall then f re only slightly notice that branch of it from which he was descended. Why or whence the first of the Sulmeri who had the cornomen of Galba was so called is uncertain. Some are of or mon that it we be cance he set fire to n city in Spain after he had a I og time nttacked it to no purpose with torches ditt d in the gum called Galbannm oth result he was so named because in n lingering disease he made use of it as a remedy wrapped up in wool others on account of he being producton ly corp lent, such a one being called in the language of the Ganl Galba; or on the contrary because he was of a slinder habit of boly like those insects which breed in a sort of oak and are called Galler Sergius Galba, a person of consular rank,3 and the most elequent man of his time gave in lustre to the family listory relates that when he was pro-prutor of Spain he perfidiously put to the sword thirty thousand Lusi tonians and by that means gave occasion to the war of Viri atus.4 His granden being inconsed again t Julius Casar whose lientenant he had been in Goul because he was through him disappointed of the consulting, joined with Ca lus and Brutus in the conspiracy against him for which he was condemned by the Pedian law From him were descended the grandfather and father of the emperor Galla. The grand father was more celebrated for his application to study than

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Africa or Asia was the court or hall of a bouse, the entrance to which was by the principal door it appears to he are her a large oblogs square, surrounded with covered or arched guileries. Three sides of the African were supported by pullars, which, in later times, were marble. The sides opposite to the gate was called Tabilizane; and the rooted order two sides, Alse. The Tabil seas contained books, and the recorde of what each member of the family had done in his magistracy. In the African the supplial couch was erected; and here the natures of the family with her madd-servants, wrought at spinaleg and wraving, which is the theo of the enderst Romann, was their principal employment.

Ile was consul with L. Aurelius Cotta, A.v.c. 610

<sup>202.710</sup> 

for any figure he made in the government. For he rose no higher than the pretorship, but published a large and not uninteresting history. His father attained to the consulship 'he was a short man and hump-backed, but a tolerable orator, and an industrious pleader. He was twice married the first of his wives was Mummia Achaica, daughter of Catulus, and great-grand-daughter of Lucius Mummius, who sacked Corinth, and the other, Livia Ocellina, a very rich and beautiful woman, by whom it is supposed he was courted for the nobleness of his descent. They say, that she was farther encouraged to persevere in her advances, by an incident which evinced the great ingenuousness of his disposition. Upon her pressing her suit, he took an opportunity, when they were alone, of stripping off his toga, and showing her the deformity of his person, that he might not be thought to impose upon her. He had by Achaica two sons, Caius and Sergius. The elder of these, Caius, having very much reduced his estate, retired from town, and being prohibited by Tiberius from standing for a pro-consulship in his year, put an end to his own life

IV The emperor Sergius Galba was born in the consulship of M Valerius Messala, and Cn Lentulus, upon the ninth of the calends of January [24th December], in a villa standing upon a hill, near Terracina, on the left-hand side of the road to Fundi Being adopted by his step-mother, he assumed the name of Livius, with the cognomen of Ocella, and changed his prænomen, for he afterwards used that of Lucius, instead of Sergius, until he arrived at the imperial dignity. It is well known, that when he came once, amongst other boys of his own age, to pay his respects to Augustus, the latter, pinching his cheek, said to him, "And thou, child, too, wilt taste our imperial dignity" Tiberius, likewise, being told that he would come to be emperor, but at an advanced age, exclaimed, "Let him live, then, since that does not concern me" When his grandfather was offering sacrifice to

Livia Ocellina, mentioned just before.

<sup>1</sup> A U C 775 2 A.U C 608

Canus Sulpicius Galba, the emperor's brother, had been consul A.U C. 774

Now Fonds, which, with Terracina, still bearing its original name, he on the road to Naples See Tiberius, cc v and xxxix

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avert some ill omen from lightning the entrails of the victim were matched out of his band by an eagle and carried off into an oak tree loaded with acorns. Upon this, the soothsayers said that the family would come to be masters of the empire but not until many years had elapsed; at which he smiling raid. Ar when a mule comes to bear a feal. When Galba first declared against Nero, nothing gave him so much could dence of success as a mule s happening at that time to have a foal And whilst all others were shocked at the occurrence as a most inauspicious produgy he alone regarded it as a most fortunate omen calling to mind the secrifice and saving of his grandfather When he took upon him the manly habit, he dreamt that the goddess Fortune said to him I stand before your door weary; and unless I am speedily admitted I shall fall into the hands of the first who comes to seize me his awaking when the door of the house was opened, he found a brazen statue of the godden above a cubit long close to the threshold, which he carned with him to Tusculum where he used to pres the summer season; and having consecrated it in an apartment of his house he ever after worshipped it with a monthly secretice and an anniversary vigil Though but a very young man, he kept up an ancient but obsolete custom, and now nowhere observed except in his own family which was, to have his freedmen and slaves appear in a body before him twice a day morning and evening to offer him their salutations.

\ Amongst other liberal studies, he applied bluself to the law He married Lepida by whom he had two sons but the mother and children all dying he continued a widower; nor could be be prevailed upon to marry again not even Agripping herself, at that time left a widow by the death of Domitius, who had employed all her blandishments to aliure him to her embraces, while he was a married man; insomuch that Lepida s mother when in company with several married women, rebuked her for it, and even went so for as to cuff her Most of all, he courted the empress Livia," by whose favour while she was living, he made a considerable figure and nar rowly missed being enriched by the will which she left at her death in which she distinguished him from the rest of the

legatees, by a legacy of fifty millions of sesterces. But because the sum was expressed in figures, and not in words at length, it was reduced by her heir, Tiberius, to five hundred thousand and even this he never received 1

VI Filling the great offices before the age required for it by law, during his prætorship, at the celebration of games in honour of the goddess Flora, he presented the new spectacle of elephants walking upon ropes. He was then governor of the province of Aquitania for near a year, and soon afterwards took the consulship in the usual course, and held it for six months. It so happened that he succeeded L Domitius, the father of Nero, and was succeeded by Salvius Otho, father to the emperor of that name, so that his holding it between the sons of these two men, looked like a presage of his future advancement to the empire. Being appointed by Caius Cæsar's to supersede Gætulicus in his command, the day after his joining the legions, he put a stop to their plaudits in a public spectacle, by issuing an order, "That they should keep their hands under their cloaks". Immediately upon which, the following verse became very common in the camp

Disce, miles, militare Galba est, non Gætulicus Learn, soldier, now in arms to use your hands, 'Tis Galba, not Gætulicus, commands

With equal strictness, he would allow of no petitions for leave of absence from the camp. He hardened the soldiers, both old and young, by constant exercise, and having quickly reduced within their own limits the barbarians who had made inroads into Gaul, upon Caius's coming into Germany, he so far recommended himself and his army to that emperor's approbation, that, amongst the innumerable troops drawn from all the provinces of the empire, none met with higher com-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Suetonius seems to have forgotten, that, according to his own testimony, this legacy, as well as those left by Tiberius, was paid by Caligula. "Legata ex testamento Tiberii, quamquam abolito, sed et Juliæ Augusta, quod Tiberius suppresserat, cum fide, ac sine calumnia repræsentato persolvit" Calig c xvi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> AUC 786

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Caius Cæsar Caligula. He gave the command of the legions in Gæmany to Galba

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mendation or greater rewards from him. He likewise distingut hed himself by heading an e-cort, with a shield in his hand and moning at the side of the emperor a charact twenty miles together

VII Upon the news of Caus s death though many car nestly presend him to lay hold of that opportunity of seizing the empire he chose rather to be quiet. Un this account, he was in great favour with Claudine and being received in o the number of his friends, stood so high in his good ordoion. that the expedition to Britale was f r some time suspended, because he was suddenly wized with a slight indisposition He governed Africa, as pro-consul, for two years being chown out of the regular course to restore order in the province which was in great disorder from civil di sensions and the alarms of the barbarians lies administration was distinguished by great strictness and equity even in matters of small im portance A soldier upon some expedition being charged with selling in a great scarcity of corn a bushel of wheat, which was all he had left, for a hundred denami he forbed him to be rehered by any body when he came to be ie want him relf and accordingly he died of famion. When ritting in jedement, a cause being brought before him about some beast of burden, the ownership of which was elaimed by two per cons: the evidence being slight on both sides, and it being difficult to come of the truth he ordered the beast to be led to o pond at which he had used to be watered, with his head muffled up, and the covering being there removed that he should be the property of the person whom he followed of his own accord after drinking

VIII For his achievements, both at this time in Africa, and formerly in Germany he received the triumphal ornaments, and three sacerdotal appointments one among The Fifteen, another in the college of Thins and a third amongst the As quality and from that time to the middle of Nero's reign he lived for the most part in retirement. He never went abroad lived for the most part in retirement.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Scuto moderates " another reading is the parallel panage of Tacitus in seals immedies engratus, bendered with the heavy weight of a shield.

It would appear that Ualla was to have accompanied Gaudius in his arredition to Britain; which is related before, Cautungs, c. yel.

so much as to take the air, without a carriage attending him, in which there was a million of sesterees in gold, ready at hand; until at last, at the time he was living in the town of Fundi, the province of Hispania Tarraconensis was offered him. After his arrival in the province, whilst he was sacrificing in a temple, a boy who attended with a censer, became all on a sudden grey-headed. This incident was regarded by some as a token of an approaching revolution in the government, and that an old man would succeed a young one—that is, that he would succeed Nero—And not long after, a thunderbolt falling into a lake in Cantabria, twelve axes were found in it, a manifest sign of the supreme power

IX He governed the province during eight years, his administration being of an uncertain and eapricious character. At first he was active, vigorous, and indeed excessively severe, in the punishment of offenders For, a money-dealer having committed some fraud in the way of his business, he cut off his hands, and nailed them to his counter had poisoned an orphan, to whom he was guardian, and next heir to the estate, he erueified On this delinquent imploring the protection of the law, and erying out that he was a Roman estizen, he affected to afford him some alleviation, and to mitigate his punishment, by a mark of honour, ordered a cross, higher than usual, and painted white, to be erected for But by degrees he gave himself up to a life of indolence and maetivity, from the fear of giving Nero any occasion of jealousy, and because, as he used to say, "Nobody was obliged to render an account of their leisure hours" was holding a court of justice on the circuit at New Carthage,2 when he received intelligence of the insurrection in Gaul,3 and while the lieutenant of Aquitama was soliciting his assistance, letters were brought from Vindex, requesting him "to assert the rights of mankind, and put himself at their head to relieve them from the tyranny of Nero" Without any long demur, he accepted the invitation, from a mixture of fear and hope For he had discovered that private orders had been sent by Nero to his procurators in the province to get

<sup>1</sup> It has been remarked before, that the Cantabra of the ancients is now the province of Biscay

2 Now Carthagena.

3 A U C 821.

him dispatched; and he was encouraged to the enterprise as well by several anspices and omens, as by the prophecy of a young woman of good family. The more so, because the priest of Juniter at Clunia, admonished by a dream had discovered in the recesses of the temple some rerses similar to those in which she had delivered her projhecy. These had also been uttered by a girl unler divine in piration about two hundred years before The Import of the verses was, That in time Spain should give the world a lord and master

Y. Taking his seat on the tribunal therefore as if there was no other bu inces then the manumitting of slaves ho had the efficies of a number of persons who had been or a demned and put to death by Nero, art up before him whil t a noble youth stood by who had been lant hed and whom he had purposely sent for from one of the neighbouring Balcario isles and lamenting the condition of the times and being thereupon unanimously saluted by the title of Imperor he publicly declared himself only the heutenant of the scenate and people of llome. Then shutting the courts, he levied legions and auxiliary troops among the provincials besides his reteran army connisting of one legion, two wings of horse and three cohorts. Out of the military leaders most distinguished for ago and prudence he formed a kind of senate with whom to advise upon ail matters of importance as often as occasion should require He likewise chose several young men of the equestrian order who were to be allowed the privilege of wearing the gold ring and, being called The Reserve should mount guard before his bed-chamber instead of the legionary soldiers He likewise Issued proclamations throughout the provinces of the empire, exhorting all to rise in arms unanimously and aid the common cause by all the ways and means in their power About the same time in fortifying a town which he had pitched upon for a military post, a ring was found, of antique workmanship in the stone of which was engraved the goddess Victory with a trophy Presently after, a ship of Alexandria arrived at Dertoss, loaded with arms, without any person to steer it or so much as a single sailor or pas-1 New Corners.

<sup>3</sup> Tortous, on the Ebra.

senger on board From this incident, nobody entertained the least doubt but the war upon which they were entering was just and honourable, and favoured likewise by the gods, when all on a sudden the whole design was exposed to failure. One of the two wings of horse, repenting of the violation of their oath to Nero, attempted to desert him upon his approach to the camp, and were with some difficulty kept in their duty. And some slaves who had been presented to him by a freedman of Nero's, on purpose to murder him, had like to have killed him as he went through a narrow passage to the bath. Being overheard to encourage one another not to lose the opportunity, they were called to an account concerning it, and recourse being had to the torture, a confession was extorted from them

XI These dangers were followed by the death of Vindex, at which being extremely discouraged, as if fortune had quite forsaken him, he had thoughts of putting an end to his own life, but receiving advice by his messengers from Rome that Nero was slain, and that all had taken an oath to him as emperor, he laid aside the title of heutenant, and took upon him that of Cæsar Putting himself upon his march in his general's cloak, and a dagger hanging from his neck before his breast, he did not resume the use of the toga, until Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the pretorian guards at Rome, with the two heutenants, Fonteius Capito in Germany, and Claudius Macer in Africa, who opposed his advancement, were all put down

XII Rumours of his cruelty and avarice had reached the city before his arrival, such as that he had punished some cities of Spain and Gaul, for not joining him readily, by the imposition of heavy taxes, and some by levelling their walls, and had put to death the governors and procurators with their wives and children likewise that a golden crown, of fifteen pounds weight, taken out of the temple of Jupiter, with which he was presented by the people of Tarracona, he had melted down, and had exacted from them three ounces which were wanting in the weight. This report of him was confirmed and increased, as soon as he entered the town. For some seamen who had been taken from the fleet, and enlisted

among the troops by Nero, he obliged to return to their former condition but they refusing to comply and obstinately cling ing to the more honourable service under their cagles and standards he not only dispersed them by a body of horse but like wave decimated them le also distanded a cohort of German which had been formed by the preceding emperors, for their body guard, and upon many occasions found very faithful and eint them back into their own country without giving them any emittity pretunding that they were more incline I to farour the advancement of Cheins Bolabella, near whose gardens they encamped than his own The following ri beulons stories were also related of him but whether with or without foundation. I know not such or that when a more sumptuous entertainment than usual was served up he fetched a deep groon; that when one of the stewards presented him with an account of his expenses he reached him a di h of legumes from his table as a reward for his care and diligence and when Canus, the piper had played much to his satisfaction he presented him with his own band five departi taken out of his pocket.

XIII His arrival therefore in town was not very agreeable to the people and this appeared at the next public spectacle. For when the actors in a farco began a well known song

Venit, in, Siame' a villa

La! Cladpate from his village comes;

all the spectators, with one roice went on with the rest, repeating and acting the first verse several times over

XIV He possessed himself of the imperial power with more favour and authority than he administered it, although he gave many proofs of his being an excellent prince but three were not so grateful to the people as his miscenduct was offensive. He was governed by three favourtes, who, because they lived in the pulsee and were constantly about him, obtained the unne of his pedagogues. These were Titus Vinlus, who had been his lecutement in Spein, a man of in

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Simus," Bierally flat-nosed, was a cast word, used for a cleway Galba being jeered for his runticity in consequence of his long retirement. See c. vill. Indeed, they called Spain his farm.

satiable avariee; Cornelius Laco, who, from an assessor to the prince, was advanced to be prefect of the pretorian guards, a person of intolerable arrogance, as well as indolence, and his freedman Icelus, dignified a little before with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and the use of the cognomen Martianus, who became a candidate for the highest honour within the reach of any person of the equestrian order. He resigned himself so implicitly into the power of those three favourites, who governed in every thing according to the capricious impulse of their vices and tempers, and his authority was so much abused by them, that the tenor of his conduct was not very consistent with itself At one time, he was more rigorous and frugal, at another, more lavish and negligent, than became a prince who had been chosen by the people, and was so far advanced in years He condemned some men of the first rank in the senatorian and equestrian orders, upon a very slight suspicion, and without trial. He rarely granted the freedom of the city to any one, and the privilege belonging to such as had three children, only to one or two; and that with great difficulty, and only for a limited time. When the judges petitioned to have a sixth decury added to their number, he not only denied them, but abolished the vacation which had been granted them by Claudius for the winter, and the beginning of the year

XV It was thought that he likewise intended to reduce the offices held by senators and men of the equestrian order, to a term of two years' continuance, and to bestow them only on those who were unwilling to accept them, and had refused them. All the grants of Nero he recalled, saving only the tenth part of them. For this purpose he gave a commission to fifty Roman knights, with orders, that if players or wrestlers had sold what had been formerly given them, it should be exacted from the purchasers, since the others, having, no doubt, spent the money, were not in a condition to pay. But on the other hand, he suffered his attendants and freedmen to sell or give away the revenue of the state, or immunities from taxes, and to punish the innocent, or pardon criminals, at pleasure. Nay, when the Roman people were very clamorous for the punishment of Halotus and Tigellinus, two of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The command of the pretorian guards

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most mischierous amongst all the emissaries of Nero, Lo protected them and even bestowed on Halotus one of the lestprocurations in his disposal. And as to Tigellinus, he even reprimanaled the people for their excelly by a proclamation.

XVI By this conduct, he Incurred the batterd of all orders of the people but especially of the soldiery. For their commanders having promised them in his name a donative larger than usual, upon their taking the oath to him before his arrival at 10mm he refused to make at good, frequently bragging

that it was his cu tom to choose his soldiers not buy Thus the troops became exampressed against him in all quarters. The pretorian guards he alarmed with apprehen some of danger and unworthy treatment; disbanding many of them occamenally as distrected to his government and farourers of \resphidens. But most of all the army in Upper Germany was incensed against him, as being d friuded of the rewards due to them for the service they had rendered in the insurrection of the Gauls under Vindex. They were therefore the first who rentured to break into open muting, refusing upon the calends [the 1st] of January to take any onth of allegiance except to the senate; and they immediately di patched deputies to the pretorian troops, to let them know they did not like the emperor who had been set up in Spain and to deare that "they would make choice of another, who might meet with the approbation of all the armies

VVII Upon receiving intelligence of this, imagining that he was slighted not so much on occount of his age as for having no children, he immediately singled out of a company of young persons of rank, who came to pay their compliments to him Piso Fragi Lichianus, a youth of noblo descent and great talents, for whom he had before contracted such a regard that he had appointed him in his will the heir both of his catate and name. Him he new styled his son, and taking him to the camp adopted him in the presence of the assembled troops but without making any mention of a donastive. This circumstance afforded the better opportunity to literous Salvius Othe of accomplishing his object six days after the adoption.

XVIII. Many remarkable proligies had happened from the

very beginning of his reign, which forewarned him of his approaching fate In every town through which he passed in his way from Spain to Rome, victims were slain on the right and left of the roads, and one of these, which was a bull, being maddened with the stroke of the axe, broke the rope with which it was tied, and running straight against his chariot, with his fore-feet elevated, bespattered him with blood Likewise, as he was alighting, one of the guard, being pushed forward by the crowd, had very nearly wounded him with his lance And upon his entering the city and, after-terwards, the palace, he was welcomed with an earthquake, and a noise like the bellowing of cattle These signs of illfortune were followed by some that were still more apparently Out of all his treasures he had selected a necklace of pearls and jewels, to adorn his statue of Fortune at Tusculum But it suddenly occurring to him that it deserved a more august place, he consecrated it to the Capitoline Venus, and next night, he dreamt that Fortune appeared to him, com-plaining that she had been defrauded of the present intended her, and threatening to resume what she had given him. Terrified at this denunciation, at break of day he sent forward some persons to Tusculum, to make preparations for a sacrifice which might avert the displeasure of the goddess, and when he kimself arrived at the place, he found nothing but some hot embers upon the altar, and an old man in black standing by, holding a little incense in a glass, and some wine in an earthern pot It was remarked, too, that whilst he was sacrificing upon the calends of January, the chaplet fell from his head, and upon his consulting the pullets for omens, they flew away Farther, upon the day of his adopting Piso, when he was to harangue the soldiers, the seat which he used upon those occasions, through the neglect of his attendants, was not placed, according to custom, upon his tribunal, and in the senate-house, his curule chair was set with the back forward

XIX The day before he was slain, as he was sacrificing in the morning, the augur warned him from time to time to be upon his guard, for that he was in danger from assassins, and that they were near at hand Soon after, he was informed, that Otho was in possession of the pretorian camp And though most of his friends advised him to repair thither immediately in hopes that he might quell the amult by his authority and presence he restred to do nothing more than keep close within the palace and secure himself by guards of the legionary soldiers who were quartered in different parts about the city. He put on a linen cost of mail, however; remarking at the same time that it would areil him little against the points of so many sword But being tempted out by false reports, which the con paraters had purposely spread to suduce him to renture abroad-some few of these along him too he tily a suring him that the tumult had crawd, the matterers were apprehended and the rest coming to congratulate him resolved to continue firm in their abedience—he went I rward to meet them with so much emplacement that up as a litera box ting that he had killed Otho he asked him authority? and proceeded as far as the forum knight as pointed to de patch him making their way through the crowd of citizen upon seeing lum at a distance halted a while after which, galloping up to him now alondoned by all his attendants they put him to death.

11 Some authors relate that upon their first approach ho cried out, What do you mean fellow soldiers? I am yours, and you are mine " and promised them a denative but the generality of writers relate that he offered his throat to them saying 'Do your work and strike since you are resolved upon it." It is remarkable that not one of those who were at hand ever made any attempt to assist the emperor who were sent for disregarded the summons, except a troop of Germans Ther in consideration of his late kindness in showing them particular attention during a slekness which prevailed in the camp flew to his aid, but came too late for being not well acquainted with the town they had taken a circuitous route. Ho was slain near the Curtian Lake 1 and there left, until a common soldier returning from the receipt of his allowance of corn, throwing down the load which he carried, cut off his bead. There being upon it no hair by which he might hold it he hid it in the becom of his dress. but afterwards thrusting his thumb into the mouth he carned it in that manner to Otho who pave it to the drudges and slaves who often led the soldiers and they flxing it upon the

In the Forum See Arousius, c. Ivil.

point of a spear, carried it in derision round the camp, crying out as they went along, "You take your fill of joy in your old age". They were irritated to this pitch of rude banter, by a report spread a few days before, that, upon some one's commending his person as still florid and vigorous, he replied,

## "Ετι μοι μένος έμπεδοι έστιν 1

My strength, as yet, has suffered no decay

A freedman of Patrobius's, who himself had belonged to Nero's family, purchased the head from them at the price of a hundred gold pieces, and threw it into the place where, by Galba's order, his patron had been put to death. At last, after some time, his steward Argius buried it, with the rest of his body, in his own gardens near the Aurelian Way

XXI In person he was of a good size, bald before, with blue eyes, and an aquiline nose, and his hands and feet were so distorted with the gout, that he could neither wear a shoe, nor turn over the leaves of a book, or so much as hold it. He had likewise an excreseence in his right side, which hung down to that degree, that it was with difficulty kept up by a bandage

XXII He is reported to have been a great eater, and usually took his breakfast in the winter-time before day. At supper, he fed very heartily, giving the fragments which were left, by handfuls, to be distributed amongst the attendants. In his lust, he was more inclined to the male sex, and such of them too as were old. It is said of him, that in Spain, when Icelus, an old catamite of his, brought him the news of Nero's death, he are occasi kissed, him lovingly before company, but begged not placed, according impediments, and then took him aside senate-house, his curunt

XIX The day before In the seventy-third year of his age, the morning, the augur wahis reign 2. The senate, as soon as upon his guard, for that hered a statue to be erected for him that they were near at han that part of the forum where he that Otho was in possessic though most of his friends at

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was slain. But Verpasian cancelled the decree upon a suspicion that he had sent assesses from Spain into Judea to murder him

Galpa was for a private man the most wealthy of any who had ever aspired to the imperial dignity. He valued himself upon his being descended from the family of the Ferru, but still more upon his relation to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus celebrated for integrity and virtue He was likewise distantly related to lavia, the wife of Augustus; by whose interest he was preferred from the station which he held in the palace to the dignity of conrol; and who left him a great legacy at her death. His parsimonious way of living and his aversion to all superfluity or excess were construed into avarice as soon as he became emperor a whence Plutarch observes that the pride which he took in his temper ance and economy was unsersonable. While he endeavoured to reform the profusion in the public expenditure which prevailed in the reign of Nero he ran into the opposite extreme; and it is objected to him by some historians, that he maintained not the imperial dignity in a degree consistent even with decemen was not sufficiently attentive either to his own security or the tranquillity of the state when he refused to pay the soldiers the donative which he had promised them. This breach of faith seems to be the only act in his lufe that affects has integrity; and it con tributed more to his ruin than even the odium which he incurred by the open venality and rapaciousness of ble favourites, parti colorly Vinius

## M. SALVIUS OTHO.

I The ancestors of Otho were originally of the town of Ferentum, of an ancient and honourable family, and, indeed, one of the most considerable in Etruria. His grandfuther, M. Salvins Otho (whose father was a Roman Linght, but his inther of me in extraction, for it is not earthin whether she was free-born), by the favour of Lavin Augusta, in whose home be had his education, was made a senator, but never rose higher than the pretorship. His father, Lucius Otho, was by the mother's side nobly descended, allied to several great families, and so dearly beloved by Tiberurs, and so much resembled him in his features, that most people believed Tiberius was his He behaved with great strictness and veverity, not only in the city offices, but in the pro-consulship of Africa, and some extraordinary commands in the army. He had the courage to punish with death some soldiers in Illinicum, who, in the disturbance attempted by Camillus, upon changing their minds, had put their generals to the sword, as promoters of that insurrection against Claudius. He ordered the execution to take place in the front of the comp,1 and under his own eyes. though he knew they had been advanced to higher ranks in the army by Claudius, on that very account By this action he acquired fame, but lessened his favour at court, which, however, he soon recovered, by discovering to Claudius a design upon his life, carried on by a Roman knight,2 and which he had learnt from some of his slaves. For the senute ordered a statue of him to be erected in the palace, an honour which had been conferred but upon very tew before him Claudius advanced him to the dignity of a patrician, commending him, at the same time, in the highest terms, and concluding with these words "A man, than whom I don't so

On the esplanade, where the standards objects of religious reverence, were planted See note to e vi Criminals were usually executed outside the Vallum, and in the presence of a centurion

Probably one of the two mentioned in Claudius, e viii

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much as wish to have children that should be better " If and two sens by a very noble woman. Allus Terentia, namely Lacius Tituanus and a younger called Marru who had the same cognomen as himself. He had also a doughter whom he contract d to Draws, Germanicus a sen, before she was of mar rageable age.

11 The emperor Otho was born upon the fourth of the calends of May [28th April, in the consulship of Camillus Aruntius and Domitine An barlous! He was from his arliest youth so riotous and wild, that he was oft in severely scourged by his He was said to run about in the night tim and seize men pay one he met who was either drunk or too feel! to make resi tance and torshim in a blanket. After his father a doubt to make his court the more effectually to a freedwoman about the palace who was in great farour he pretended to be in love with her though she was old and almost decrepit. Having by her means got into Nero s good graces he soon became one of the principal favouritor, by the congeniality of his disposition to that of the emperor or as some say by the reciprocal practice of mutual pollution. He had so great a sway at court that when a man of consular rank was con demned for bribery having tampered with him for a large sum of money to procure his pardon before he had quite effected it, he scrupled not to introduce him into the senate to return hus thanks.

III Having by means of this woman, insinuated himself into all the emperor's scerets, he upon the day designed for the murder of his mother entertained them both at a very splendid feast, to provent suspicion. Poppers Subina, for whom Nero entertained such a volent passion that he had taken her from her hustand and entrusted her to him, he received, and went through the form of marrying her. And not estisfied with obtaining her favours, he loved her so extravagantly that he could not with pullence bear Nero for his rival. It is certainly believed that he not only refused admittance to those who were sent by Nero to fotch her, but that, on one

<sup>1</sup> A.U.C. 781 or 785.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Distento sago impositum in sublime jactare."

I See NERO, e XXXV

occasion, he shut him out, and kept him standing before the door, mixing prayers and menaces in vain, and demanding back again what was entrusted to his keeping. His pretended marriage, therefore, being dissolved, he was sent lieutenant into Lusitania. This treatment of him was thought sufficiently severe, because harsher proceedings might have brought the whole farce to light, which, notwithstanding, at last came out, and was published to the world in the following distich.

Cur Otho mentitus sit, quæritis, exul honore?
Uxoris mæchus cæperat esse suæ
You ask why Otho's banish'd? Know, the cause
Comes not within the verge of valgar laws
Against all rules of fashionable life,
The rogue had dared to sleep with his own wife

He governed the province in quality of questor for ten years, with singular moderation and justice

IV As soon as an opportunity of revenge offered, he readily joined in Galba's enterprises, and at the same time conceived hopes of obtaining the imperial dignity for himself. To this he was much encouraged by the state of the times, but still more by the assurances given him by Seleucus, the astrologer, who, having formerly told him that he would certainly out-live Nero, came to him at that juncture unexpectedly, promising him as gain that he should succeed to the empire, and that in a very short arrange. He, therefore, let slip no opportunity of making his court to every one about him by all manner of civilities. As often as he entertained Galba at supper, he distributed to every man of the cohe art which attended the emperor on guard, a gold piece, ender avouring likewise to oblige the rest of the soldiers in one was a or another. Being chosen an arbitrator by one who had a dispute with his neighbour about a piece of land, he bounght it, and gave it him, so that now almost every body the ought and said, that he was the only man worthy of succeeding at the empire

V He entertained had ppes of being adopted by Galba, and expected it every day

But finding himself disappointed, by Piso s being preferred bet fore him, he turned his thoughts to obtaining his purpose by the use of violence, and to this he was instigated, as well by the greatness of his debts, as by resent-

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ment at fields a conduct towards him. For he did not conceal his conviction, that he could not stand his ground unless he became emperor and that it signified nothing whether
he fell by the hands of his nomines in the field or of his creditors in the forum." He had a few days before squeezed outo'
one of the emperor a slaves a million of softences for procuring
him a steward-hip and this was the whole fund he had for
carrying on so great an enterprise. At first the design was
entirusted to only five of the guard, but afterwards to ten
others each of the five naming two. They had every one ten
thousand a settence paid down and were promised fifty thou
sand more. By these others were drawn in, but not many
from a confident assurance that when the matter came to the
critis they should have enough to join them.

VI His first instantion was immediately after the departum of Fivo to selice the camp, and fall upon thatba, whilst he was at support in the palace but he was restrained by a regard for the cohert at that time on duty lest he should bring too great an oddium upon it because it happened that the same cohert was on great before both when Calus was slain and Nero deserted. For some time afterwards he was restrained also by scruples about the omen and by the advice of Selecter. Upon the day fixed at last for the enterprise having given his accompliers notice to wait for him in the forms near the temple of Saturn, at the gilded mile-stone he went in the morning to pay bis respects to Galla; and being received with a ki as usual he attended him at ascrifice and heard the predictions of the angur? A freedman of his, then bringing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Milliars Aureum was a pillar of stone set up at the top of the forum, from which all the great milliary roots throughout Italy started, the distances to the principal towns being marked spon it. Die (thi. 19°) says that it was eracted by the emperor Augustus, when he was curstor of the roads.

I Howaper damper or steps denoted any person who forciold futerity or interpreted operate. There was at Rouse a body of priests, or college, under this title whose office it was to foreful future erreits, chiefly from the flight, chipriage, or feeding of birds, and from other appearance. They were of the greatest authority in the Roman state; for nothing of importance was doos to public affairs, either at home or strong, in prace or war without consulting them. The Roman derived the practice of magney chiefly from the Towarns; and gaschady their poot used to be

him word that the architects were come, which was the signal agreed upon, he withdrew, as if it were with a design to view a house upon sale, and went out by a back-door of the palace to the place appointed. Some say he pretended to be scized with an ague fit, and ordered those about him to make that excuse for him, if he was inquired after. Being then quickly concealed in a woman's litter, he made the best of his way for the camp. But the bearers growing tired, he got out, and began to run. His shoe becoming loose, he stopped again, but being immediately raised by his attendants upon their shoulders, and unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor, he came amidst auspicious acclamations and drawn swords into the Principial in the camp, all who met him joining in the cavalcade, as if thoy had been privy to the design. Upon this, sending some soldiers to dispatch Galba and Piso, he said nothing else in his address to the soldiery, to seeme their affections, than these fow words. "I shall be content with whatever ye think fit to leave me"

VII Towards the close of the day, he entered the senate, and after he had made a short speech to them, pretending that he had been serzed in the streets, and compelled by violence to assume the imperial authority, which he designed to exercise in conjunction with them, he retired to the palace Besides other compliments which he received from those who flocked about him to congratulate and flatter him, he was called Nero by the mob, and manifested no intention of declining that cognomen. Nay, some authors relate, that he used it in his official acts, and the first letters he sent to the

istructed as carefully in this art, as afterwards they were in the Greek Interature. For this purpose, by a decree of the senate, a certain number of the sons of the leading men at Rome was sent to the twelve states of Litura for instruction.

See before, note, c 1 The Principia was a broad open space, which separated the lower part of the Roman camp from the upper, and extended the whole breadth of the camp. In this place was erected the tribinal of the general, when he either administered justice or harangued the tribinal time. Here likewise the tribines held their courts, and punishments were inflicted. The principal standards of the army, as it has been already mentioned, were deposited in the Principia, and in it also stood the alters of the gods, and the images of the imperors, by which the sold it is swore.

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governors of provinces. He sail red all his images and statute to be replaced and restored his procurators and free limen to their former posts. And the first writing which he signed a emperor was a premise of fifty millions of a terres to fin h the Golden house. He is said to have been greatly inghtened that ni ht in life eleep and to have ground bravily and being f and, by those who came running in to see what the matter was lying upon the four lafore had d leands around by every kind of etonement to appears the ghost of field a, by which he had found I limelf to leadly turnlied out of 1 d The next day as he was taking the omen a great storm ans ing and sustaining a graceous full he mottered to hume if from time to time t

## Ti yas pu zel person a hai ?

What business has all the load trampets to sound!

VIII About the same time the armies in Germany took an oath to Vitellius as emperor Lyen necling this in telligence he advised the senate to send that it deputies, to inform them that a prince had been already chosen and to twingade them to peace and a good understanding. Hy letters and mesogra however he offered latellius to make him his colleague in the empire and his son in law litt a war being now unavoidable and the generals and troops sent forward by Vitellius, advancing he had a proof of the ettachment and fidelity of the pretonan eward which had nearly provid futal to the senatorian order. It had been judged prop a that some arms should be given out of the stores, and con-reyed to the fleet by the marine troops. While they were employed in I tehing there from the camp in the night, some of the guards suspecting treachery excited a tumult and suddenly the whole body without any of their officers at their head, ran to the palace demanding that the entire senate should be put to the sword; and baying repulsed some of the

<sup>1</sup> See Anno, e. xxxi. The sum estimated as requisite for its com-

périos amounted to £2 187,500 et our money

7 he two last word literally translated, mean long trampets is such as were used at sacrifices. The sense is, therefore. What liave i to do, my hands stained with blood, with performing religious excess Tionies !"

tribunes who endeavoured to stop them, and slain others, they broke, all bloody as they were, into the banqueting room, inquiring for the emperor, nor would they quit the place until they had seen him. He now entered upon his expedition against Vitellius with great alacrity, but too much precipitation, and without any regard to the ominous eireumstances which attended it For the Ancilia 1 had been taken out of the temple of Mars, for the usual procession, but were not yet replaced, during which interval it had of old been looked upon as very unfortunate to engago in any enterprise He likewise set forward upon the day when the worshippers of the Mother of the gods2 begin their lamentations and wailing Besides these, other unlucky omens attended him For, in a victim offered to Father Dis,3 he found the signs such as upon all other occasions are regarded as favourable, whereas, in that sacrifice, the contrary intimations are judged the most propitious At his first setting forward, he was stopped by inundations of the Tiber, and at twenty miles' distance from the city, found the road blocked up by the fall of houses

IX Though it was the general opinion that it would be proper to protract the war, as the enemy wero distressed by

1 The Ancile was a round shield, said to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa, and supposed to be the shield of Mars. It was kept with great care in the sanetuary of his temple, as a symbol of the perpetuity of the Roman empire, and that it might not be stolen, eleven others were made exactly similar to it

This ideal personage, who has been mentioned before, Augustus, e lavin, was the goddess Cybele, the wife of Saturn, called also Rhea, Ops, Vesta, Magna, Mater, &c She was painted as a matron, erowned with towers, sitting in a chariot drawn by lions. A statue of her, brought from Pessinus in Phrygia to Rome, in the time of the second Punic war, was much honoured there. Her priests, called the Galli and Corybantes, were castrated, and worshipped her with the sound of drums, tahors, pipes, and cymbals. The rites of this goddess were disgraced by great indecencies.

3 Otherwise called Orcus, Pluto, Jupiter Infernus, and Stygms He was the brother of Jupiter, and king of the infernal regions. His wife was Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, whom he carried off as she was gathering flowers in the plains of Enna, in Sicily The victims offered to the infernal gods were black—they were killed with their faces bent downwards, the kinfe was applied from below, and the blood was poured into a ditch

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famine and the straitness of their quarters get he realise t with equal in horse to f its them to an experiment as even as possible; whether from impatience of prolonged anxiets and in the hope of langing matters to an impelefure the errival of Vitelline, or because he could not ment the entirer of the troops, who were all clamorous for hatel however present at any of these which ensured, but stayed behind at lineellam. He had the advantage in three slight engreements, near the time about Playatia, and a place called Co tors ! but was by a fraudulent stratagers of the enemy def ated in the la t and greatest battle at liedriceum For some boyes of a conference being given, and the soldners being drawn up to hear th conditions of peace declared very unexpectedly and smidet their mutual salutations they were obliged to stand to their arms. Immediately upon this be d termined to put an end to his life more as many think an i not without mason, out of shame at persisting in a struggle for the empire to the lazard of the public interest and so many lives than from despair or distruit of his treeps. Let he had still in reserve and in full f ree those whom he had kint about him for a second trial of his f riuge and others were coming up from Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Musia in t were the troops lately defeated so far discouraged as not to be ready even of themselves to run all risks in order to wipe off their recent disgrace

## A My father Suctonius Lenis, was in this fattle being at

A town between Mantas and Cremons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The temple of Castor 11 stood about twelve miles from Cremona. Tacitus gives some detail of this action. If it il. 243.

Both Greek and Latin authors differ in the mode of spelling the name of this place the first syllable being written Beb, Bet and Bree It is now a small village called Labou between Ceremen and Across.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Leafs was a same of similar displacetion with that of Traquilles, borne by his cost, the suthor of the present ward. We did from Tailine that there was, smoog Otho a general, in this lattle another person of the name of Satonaus whose coprosess was Paulinus with whose ner author's father must sot be confounded. Leafs was only a tillness of that thirteenth legion, the position of will ich in the battle in mentioned by Teclina, Illiad 34, 21 and was asymittlearies wrating only the parrow stripe is not being of the seatorial seder while I auditum was a present commanding a legion, at least said a country in harlag filled that effect our 318. There seems no obey that Sectablum Paulium

that time an angusticlavian tribine in the thirteenth legion He used frequently to say, that Otho, before his advancement to the empire, had such an abhorrence of civil war, that once, upon hearing an account given at table of the death of Cassius and Brutus, he fell into a trembling, and that he never would have interfered with Gallia, but that he was confident of succeeding in his enterprise without a war. Moreover, that he was then encouraged to despise life by the example of a common soldier, who bringing news of the defent of the aimy, and finding that he met with no credit, but was railed at for a har and a coward, as if he had run away from the field of battle, fell upon his sword at the emperor's feet, upon the sight of which, my father said that Otho cried out, "that he would expose to no farther danger such brave men, who had deserved so well at his hands" Advising therefore his brother, his brother's son, and the rest of his friends, to provide for their security in the best manner they could, after he had embraced and kissed them, ho sent them away, and then withdrawing into a prirate room by himself, he wrote a letter of consolation to his sister, containing two sheets. He likewise sent another to Messahna, Nero's widow, whom he had intended to marry, committing to her the care of his relies and memory. He then burnt all the letters which he had by him, to prevent the danger and mischief that might otherwise befall the writers from the conqueror What ready money he had, he distributed among his domestics

XI And now being prepared, and just upon the point of dispatching himself, he was induced to suspend the execution of his purpose by a great tumult which had broken out in the camp. Finding that some of the soldiers who were making off had been seized and detained as deserters, "Let us add," said he, "this night to our life". These were his very words, was the same general who distinguished himself by his successes and cruelties in Britain. Nero, c xvm, and note

Not to extend the present note, we may shortly refer to our author's having already mentioned his grandfather (Caligui A, e NX), besides other sources from which he drew his information. He tells us that he himself was then a boy. We have now arrived at the times in which his father bore a part. Such incidental notices, dropped by historical writers, have a certain value in enabling us to form a judgment on the genuinchess of their marratives as to contemporancous, or recent, events

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He then give orders that no violence should be elf and to any one; and kreying his chamber-door eyen until late at high; he allowed all the planes the liberty to come and see I im. It last after quenching his thirst with a drought of cold water he took up two pointers and having cannified the planes of both put one of them under his pillow and shutting laced an ber-door elegt very coundly until awaking allow treak of day he stabled himself under the 1 ft pap. Some part as bursting into the room upon like first green he at one ture exercted, and at another exposed his would not be view of the by and re and thus life soon elbed away. Bis functal using this type of his age and ninety fifth day of his right.

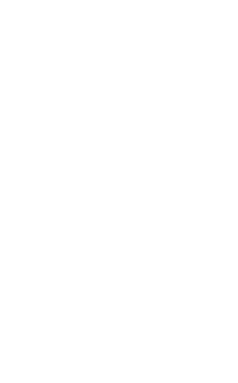
XII The prom and appearance of Othe no way corresponded to the great spirit he displayed on this occar in fir he is said to have been of low stature splay footed, and I andy legged He was, however off minately nice in the care of his person; the hair on bla body he plucked out by the roots and because he was somewhat bald he wore a kind of prinke en exactly fitted to his head that priody could have known it for such. He need to share every day and rub like face with waked bread the use of which he began when the down first at pean I upon his chiu to prevent his having any leard It is said likewise that he celebrated publicly the sacred rites of Isla, chal in a linen garment, such as is used by the wor shippers of that god less These circumstances I imagine caused the world in wonder the more that his death was so little in character with his life Many of the soldiers who were present, kiesing and bedewing with their tears his hands and feet as he lay dead and celebrating him as " a most gallant man and an incomparable croperor " immediately put an and to their nwn lives upon the spot not far from his funeral pil

<sup>1</sup> A.V.C 523.

Jupiter to prevent the discovery of his amose with In, the daughter of the river lanches, transformed her late helder I subject not be river lanches, transformed her late helder I supercise of Argus; but figling that Erpst, and her keeper helpe liked by Hiercety she accovered her hamma shape, and was barried to Osiria. Her handmal ski, r wards become a pind of the Teppitars, and she a goddess use lart asteman of lais. She was represented with a neural crown on her heard, a corea opids in one band, and a riferance which instruments; in this other distinctions of the other distinctions of the other distinctions.

Many of those likewise who were at a distance, upon hearing the news of his death, in the anguish of their hearts, began fighting amongst themselves, until they dispatched one another. To conclude the generality of mankind, though they hated him whilst living, yet highly extolled him after his death, insomuch that it was the common talk and opinion, "that Galba had been driven to destruction by his rival, not so much for the sake of reigning himself, as of restoring Rome to its ancient liberty"

It is remarkable, in the fortune of this emperor, that he owed both his elevation and catastrophe to the inextricable embarrassments in which he was involved, first, in respect of pecuniary circumstances and next, of political. He was not, so far as we can learn, a follower of any of the sects of philosophers which justified, and even recommended suicide, in particular cases yet he perpetrated that act with extraordinary coolness and resolution, and, what is no less remarkable, from the motive, as he avowed, of public expediency only. It was observed of him, for many years after his death, that "none ever died like Otho"



into the patrician order. On the other hand, the generality of writers say that the founder of the family was a freedman. Cassius Severus¹ and some others relate that he was likewise a cobblei, whose son having made a considerable fortune by agencies and dealings in confiscated property, begot, by a common strumpet, daughter of one Antiochus, a baker, a child, who afterwards became a Roman knight. Of these different accounts the reader is left to take his choice

II It is certain, however, that Publius Vitellius, of Nuceria, whether of an ancient family, or of low extraction, was a Roman knight, and a procurator to Augustus He left behind him four sons, all men of very high station, who had the same cognomen, but the different prænomina of Aulus, Quintus, Publius, and Lucius Aulus died in the enjoyment of the consulship, which office he bore jointly with Domitius, the father of Nero Cæsar He was elegant to excess in his manner of living, and notorious for the vast expense of his entertainments Quintus was deprived of his rank of senator, when we are the living and he was the livi when, upon a motion made by Tiberius, a resolution passed to purge the senate of those who were in any respect not duly qualified for that honour Publius, an intimate friend and companion of Germanicus, prosecuted his enemy and murdeier, Cneius Piso, and procured sentence against him After he had been made prætor, being arrested among the accomplices of Sejanus, and delivered into the hands of his brother to be confined in his house, he opened a vein with a penknife, intending to bleed himself to death He suffered, however, the wound to be bound up and cured, not so much from repenting the resolution he had formed, as to comply with the importunity of his relations He died afterwards a natural death during his confinement Lucius, after his consulship,3 was made governor of Syria,4 and by his politic management not only brought Artabanus, king of the Parthians, to give him an interview, but to worship the standards of the Roman legions He afterwards filled two ordinary consulships, and also the censorship jointly with the emperor Claudius Whilst that

Cassius Severus is mentioned before, in Augustus, c lvi, Caligula, xvi, &c 2 A u c 785 3 A u c 787

Jews See, particularly, Antiq VI viii

<sup>5</sup> AUC 796, 800 6 AUC 801



terrified with the predictions of astrologers upon the calcula tion of his nativity, that his father used his utmost endeavours to prevent his being sent governor into any of the provinces, whilst he was alive. His mother, upon his being sent to the legions, and also upon his being proclaimed emperor, immediately lamented him as utterly ruined. He spent his youth amongst the catamites of Tiberius at Capri, was himself constantly stigmatized with the name of Spintria, and was supposed to have been the occasion of his father's advancement, by consenting to gratify the emperor's unnatural lust

IV In the subsequent part of his life, being still most scandalously vicious, he rose to great favour at court, being upon a very intimate footing with Caius [Caligula], because of his fondness for chariot-driving, and with Claudius for his love of gaming. But he was in a still higher degree acceptable to Nero, as well on the same accounts, as for a particular service which he rendered him. When Nero presided in the games instituted by himself, though he was extremely desirous to perform amongst the harpers, yet his modesty would not permit him, notwithstanding the people entreated much for it. Upon his quitting the theatre, Vitellius fetched him back again, pretending to represent the determined wishes of the people and so afforded him the opportunity of yielding to their intreaties.

V By the favour of these three princes, he was not only advanced to the great offices of state, but to the highest dignities of the sacred order, after which he held the proconsulship of Africa, and had the superintendence of the public works, in which appointment his conduct, and, consequently, his reputation, were very different. For he governed the province with singular integrity during two years, in the latter of which he acted as deputy to his brother, who succeeded him. But in his office in the city, he was said to pillage the temples of their gifts and ornaments, and to have exchanged brass and tin for gold and silver §

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He was sent to Germany by Galba <sup>2</sup> See Tiberius, c. x.m. <sup>3</sup> Julius Cæsar, also, was said to have exchanged brass for gold in the

Capitol, Jui ius, c liv The tin which we here find in use at Rome, was probably brought from the Cassiterides, now the Scilly islands whence it had been an article of commerce by the Phænicians and Carthaginians from a very early period.



which was disaffected to Galba, and ripe for insurrection, received him with open arms, as if he had been sent them from heaven. It was no small recommendation to their favour, that he was the son of a man who had been thrice consul, was in the prime of life, and of an easy, prodigal disposition. This opinion, which had been long entertained of him, Vitellius confirmed by some late practices, having kissed all the common soldiers whom he met with upon the road, and been excessively complaisant in the inns and stables to the muleteers and travellers, asking them in a morning, if they had got their breakfasts, and letting them see, by belching, that he had eaten his

VIII After he had reached the camp, he denied no mar. any thing he asked for, and pardoned all who lay under sentence for disgraceful conduct or disorderly habits. Before a month, therefore, had passed, without regard to the day or season, he was hurried by the soldiers out of his bed-chamber, although it was evening, and he in an undress, and unanimously saluted by the title of Emperor. He was then carried round the most considerable towns in the neighbourhood, with the sword of the Divine Julius in his hand, which had been taken by some person out of the temple of Mars, and presented to him when he was first saluted. Nor did he return to the pretorium, until his dining-room was in flames from the chimney's taking fire. Upon this accident, all being in consternation, and considering it as an unlucky omen, he cried out, "Courage, boys! it shines brightly upon us." And this was all he said to the soldiers. The army of the Upper Province likewise, which had before declared against Galba for the senate, joining in the proceedings, he very eagerly accepted the cognomen of Germanicus, offered him by the unanimous consent of both armies, but deferred assuming that of Augustus, and refused for ever that of Cæsar.

IX. Intelligence of Galba's death arriving soon after, when he had settled his affairs in Germany he divided his troops into two bodies, intending to send one of them before him against Otho, and to follow with the other himself. The army he sent forward had a lucky omen, for, suddenly, an eagle came flying up to them on the right, and having hovered

<sup>1</sup> A.v c 822.



were fought, some of those around him being offenced at the smell of the careases which lay rotting upon the ground, he had the audacity to encourage them by a most detestable remark, "That a dead enemy smelt not amiss, especially if he were a fellow-citizen" To qualify, however, the offensiveness of the stench, he quaffed in public a goblet of wine, and with equal vanity and insolence distributed a large quantity of it among his troops. On his observing a stone with an inscription upon it to the memory of Otho, he said, "It was a mausoleum good enough for such a prince" He also sent the poniard, with which Otho killed himself, to the colony of Agrippina, to be dedicated to Mars. Upon the Appenine hills he celebrated a Bacchanalian feast

XI At last he entered the City with trumpets sounding, in his general's cloak, and girded with his sword, amidst a display of standards and banners, his attendants being all in the military habit, and the arms of the soldiers unsheathed Acting more and more in open violation of all laws, both divine and human, he assumed the office of Pontifex Maximus, upon the day of the defeat at the Allia, ordered the magistrates to be elected for ten years of office, and made himself consul for life To put it out of all doubt what model he intended to follow in his government of the empire, he made his offerings to the shade of Nero in the midst of the Campus Maitius, and with a full assembly of the public priests attending him a solemn entertainment, he desired a harper who pleased the company much, to sing something in praise of Domitius, and upon his beginning some songs of Nero's, he started up in presence of the whole assembly, and could not refrain from applauding him, by clapping his hands

XII After such a commencement of his career, he con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Otho, c 1x

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Agrippina, the wife of Nero and mother of Germanicus, founded a colony on the Rhine at the place of her birth. Tacit *Annal* b xii It became a flourishing city, and its origin may be traced in its modern name, Cologne

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A dies non fastus, an unlucky day in the Roman calendar, being the anniversary of their great defeat by the Gauls on the river Allia, which soins the Tiber about five miles from Rome This disaster happened on the 16th of the calends of August [17th July]



from the Carpathian Sca, and the Spanish Straits. He was not only a man of an insatiable appetite, but would gratify it likewise at unseasonable times, and with any garbage that came in his way, so that, at a sacrifice, he would snatch from the fire flesh and cakes, and eat them upon the spet. When he travelled, he did the same at the inns upon the road, whether the meat was fiesh dressed and hot, or what had been left the day before, and was half-caten

XIV He delighted in the infliction of punishments, and even those which were capital, without any distinction of per-Several noblemen, his school-fellows and sons or occasions companions, invited by him to court, he treated with such flattering caresses, as seemed to indicate an affection short only of admitting them to share the honours of the imperial dignity, yet he put them all to death by some base means or other one he gave poison with his own hand, in a cup of cold water which he called for in a fever Hc scarcely spared one of all the usurers, notaries, and publicans, who had ever demanded a debt of him at Rome, or any toll or custom upon the road One of these, while in the very act of saluting him, he ordered for execution, but immediately sent for him back, upon which all about him applauding his elemency, he commanded him to be slain in his own presence, saying, "I have a mind to feed my eyes" Two sons who interceded for their father, he ordered to be executed with him A Roman knight, upon his oeing dragged away for execution, and crying out to him, "You are my heir," he desired to produce his will and finding that he had made his freedman joint heir with him, he commanded that both he and the freedman should have their throats cut He put to death some of the common people for cursing aloud the blue party in the Circensian games, supposing it to be done in contempt of himself, and the expectation of a revolution in the government There were no persons he was more severe against than jugglers and astrologers, and as soon as any one of them was informed against, he put him to death without the formality of a trial He was enraged against them, because, after his proclamation by which he commanded all astrologers to quit Rome, and Italy also, before the calends [the first] of October, a bill was immediately posted about the city, with the following words —"TAKE



declaration from a writing which he held in his hand, but the soldiers and people again interposing, and encouraging him not to give way, but to rely on their zealous support, he recovered his courage, and forced Sabinus, with the rest of the Flavian party, who now thought themselves secure, to retreat into the Capitol, where he destroyed them all by setting fire to the temple of Jupiter, whilst he beheld the contest and the fire from Tiberius's house, where he was feasting Not long after, repenting of what he had done, and throwing the blame of it upon others, he called a meeting, and swore "that nothing was dearer to him than the public peace," which oath he also obliged the rest to take. Then drawing a dagger from his side, he presented it first to the consul, and, upon his refusing it, to the magistrates, and then to every one of the senators, but none of them being willing to accept it, he went away, as it he meant to lay it up in the temple of Concord, but some crying out to him, "You are Concord," he camo back again, and said that he would not only keep his weapon, but for the future uso the cognomen of Concord

XVI He advised the senate to send deputies, accompanied by the Vestal Viigins, to desilo peace, or, at least, time for consultation. The day after, while ho was waiting for an answer, ho received intelligence by a scout, that the enemy was advancing. Immediately, therefore, throwing himself into a small litter, borne by hand, with only two attendants, a baker and a cook, he privately withdrew to his father's house, on the Aventine hill, intending to escape thence into Campania. But a groundless report being circulated, that the enemy was willing to come to terms, he suffered himself to be carried back to the palace. Finding, however, nobody there, and those who were with him stealing away, he girded round his waist a belt full of gold pieces, and then ran into the porter's lodge, tying the dog before the door, and piling up against it the bed and bedding

<sup>1</sup> Suctioning does not supply any account of the part added by Tiberius to the palace of the Cæsars on the Palatine, although, as it will be recollected, he has mentioned or described the works of Augustus, Calgula, and Nero The banquetting-room here mentioned would easily command a view of the Capitol, across the narrow intervening valley Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, was prefect of the city.



After the extinction of the race of the Casars, the possession of the imperial power became extremely precarious, and great influence in the army was the means which now invariable led to the The soldiers having arrogated to themselves the right of nomination, they either unanimously elected one and the same person, or different parties supporting the interests of their respective favourites, there arose between them a contention, which was usually determined by an appeal to arms, and followed by the assassination of the unsuccessful competitor. Vitellius, oy being a parasite of all the emperors from Tiberius to Nero inclusively, had risen to a high military rank, by which, with a spirit of enterprise, and large promises to the soldiers, it was not difficult to snatch the reins of government, while they were yet fluctuating in the hands of Otho His ambition prompted to the attempt, and his boldness was crowned with success. In the service of the four preceding emperors, Vitellius had imbibed the principal vices of them all but what chiefly distinguished him was extreme voraciousness, which, though he usually panipered it with enormous luxury, could yet be gratified by the vilest and most offensive The pusillanimity discovered by this emperor at his death, forms a striking contrast to the heroic behaviour of Otho



military tribune, and at last prefect of the camp, and her brother was a senator of prætorian dignity. There is to this day, about six miles from Nursia, on the road to Spoletum, a place on the summit of a hill, called Vespasiæ, where are several monuments of the Vespasii, a sufficient proof of the splendour and antiquity of the family. I will not deny that some have pretended to say, that Petro's father was a native of Gallia Transpadana, whose employment was to hire workpeople who used to emigrate every year from the country of the Umbria into that of the Sabines, to assist them in their husbandry, but who settled at last in the town of Reate, and there married. But of this I have not been able to discover the least proof, upon the strictest inquiry

II Vespasian was born in the country of the Sabines, beyond Reate, in a little country-seat called Phalaerine, upon the fifth of the calends of December [27th November], in the evening, in the consulship of Quintus Sulpicius Camcinnus and Caus Poppeus Sabinus, five years before the death of Augustus,3 and was educated under the eare of Tertulla, his giandmother by the father's side, upon an estate belonging to the family, at Cosa 4 After his advancement to the empire, he used frequently to visit the place where he had spent his infancy, and the villa was continued in the same condition, that he might see every thing about him just as he had been used And he had so great a regard for the memory of his grandmother, that, upon solemn occasions and festival days, he constantly drank out of a silver cup which she had been accustomed to use After assuming the manly habit, he had a long time a distaste for the senatorian toga, though his brother had obtained it, nor could he be persuaded by any one but his mother to sue for that badge of honour She at length drove him to it, more by taunts and reproaches, than by her entrea-

Gaul beyond, north of, the Po, now Lombardy

Cosa was a place in the Volscian territory, of which Anagin was probably the chief town. It has about forty inles to the north cast of Rome

We find the annual migration of labourers in husbandry a very common practice in ancient as well as in modern times. At present, several thousand industrious labourers cross over every summer from the duchies of Parma and Modena, bordering on the district mentioned by Suetonius, to the island of Corsica, returning to the continent when the harvest is got in

A U C 762 A D 10

Cosa was a place in the Volscian territory, of whice Angeni was D



IV In the reign of Claudius, by the interest of Narcissus, he was sent to Germany, in command of a legion, whence being removed into Britain, he engaged the enemy in thirty several battles He reduced under subjection to the Romans two very powerful tribes, and above twenty great towns, with the Isle of Wight, which hes close to the coast of Britain; partly under the command of Aulus Plautius, the consular heutenant, and partly under Claudius himself 1 For this success he received the triumphal ornaments, and in a short time after two priesthoods, besides the consulship, which he held during the two last months of the year 2 The interval between that and his proconsulship he spent in leisure and retirement, for fear of Agrippina, who still held great sway over her son, and hated all the friends of Narcissus, who was then dead Afterwards he got by lot the province of Africa, which he governed with great reputation, excepting that once, in an insurrection at Adrumetum, he was pelted with turnips It is certain that he returned thence nothing richer, for his credit was so low, that he was obliged to mortgage his whole property to his brother, and was reduced to the necessity of dealing in mules, for the support of his rank, for which reason he was commonly called "the Muleteer" He is said likewise to have been convicted of extorting from a young man of fashion two hundred thousand sesterces for procuring him the broadstripe, contrary to the wishes of his father, and was severely reprimanded for it While in attendance upon Nero in Achaia, he frequently withdrew from the theatre while Nero was singing, and went to sleep if he remained, which gave so much

Caliguia, c xxiv, and to Marcella, the concubine of Commodus, by Herodian, l xvi 9, where he says that she had all the honours of an empress, except that the incense was not offered to her These connections resembled the *left-hand* marriages of the German princes

This expedition to Britain has been mentioned before, CLAUDIUS,

c xvii and note, and see ib xxiv

2 AUD 804.

Valerius Flaccus, 18, and Silins Italians, in. 598, celebrate the triumphs of Vespasian in Britain. In representing him, however, as carrying his arins among the Calcdonian tribes, their flattery transferred to the emperor the glory of the victories gained by his I eutenant, Agricola Vespasian's own conquests, while he served in Britain, were principally in the territories of the Brigantes, lying north of the Humber, and including the present counties of York and Durham



there could be not the least jealousy. Two legions, therefore, eight squadrons of horse, and ten cohorts, being added to the former troops in Judæa, and, taking with him his eldest son as heutenant, as soon as he arrived in his province, he turned the eyes of the neighbouring provinces upon him, by reforming immediately the discipline of the camp, and engaging the enemy once or twice with such resolution, that, in the attack of a eastle, he had his knee huit by the stroke of a stone, and received several arrows in his shield

V After the deaths of Nero and Galba, whilst Otho and Vitellius were contending for the sovereignty, he entertained hopes of obtaining the empire, with the prospect of which he had long before flattered himself, from the following omens Upon an estate belonging to the Flavian family, in the neighbourhood of Rome, there was an old oak, sacred to Mars, which, at the three several deliveries of Vespasia, put out each time a new branch, evident intimations of the future fortune of each child. The first was but a slender one, which quickly withered away, and accordingly, the guil that was born did not live long. The second became vigorous, which portended great good fortune, but the third grew like a tree. His father, Sabinus, encouraged by these omens, which were confirmed by the augurs, told his mother, "that her grandson would be emperor of Rome," at which she laughed heartily, wondering, she said, "that her son should be in his dotage whilst she continued still in full possession of her faculties"

Afterwards in his ædileship, when Caius Cæsar, being enraged at his not taking eare to have the streets kept elean, ordered the soldiers to fill the bosom of his gown with dirt, some persons at that time construed it into a sign that the government, being trampled under foot and deserted in some civil commotion, would fall under his protection, and as it were into his lap. Once, while he was at dinner, a strange dog, that wandered about the streets, brought a man's hand, and laid it under the table. And another time, while he was at supper, a plough-ox throwing the yoke off his neck, broke into the room, and after he had frightened away all the at-

<sup>1</sup> See note to c vn

A right hand was the sign of sovereign power, and as every one knows, borne upon a staff among the standards of the armies



VI He made, however, no attempt upon the sovereignty, though his friends were very ready to support him, and even pressed him to the enterprise, until he was encouraged to it by the fortutous aid of persons unknown to him and at a distance. Two thousand men, drawn out of three legions in the Mesian army, had been sent to the assist ince of Otho they were upon their march, news came that he had been defcated, and had put an end to his lite, notwithstanding which they continued their march as far as Aquileia, pretending that they gave no credit to the report. There, tempted by the opportunity which the disorder of the times afforded them, they ravaged and plundered the country at discretion, until at length, fearing to be called to an account on their return, and punished for it, they resolved upon choosing and creating an emperor "For they were no ways inferior," they said, "to the army which made Galba emperor, nor to the prætorian troops which had set up Otho, nor the army in Germany, to whom Vitellius owed his elevation" The names of all the consular lieutenants, therefore, being taken into consideration, and one objecting to one, and another to another, for various reasons, at last some of the third legion, which a little before Nero's death had been removed out of Syria into Mosia, (2tolled Vespasian in high terms, and all the rest assenting, his name was immediately inscribed on their standards. The design was nevertheless quashed for a time, the troops being

brought to submit to Vitellius a little longer

However, the fact becoming known, Tiberius Alexander, governor of Egypt, first obliged the legions under his command to swear obedience to Vespasian as their emperor, on the calends [the 1st] of July, which was observed ever after as the day of his accession to the empire, and upon the fifth of the ides of the same month [the 28th July], the army in Judæa, where he then was, also swore allegiance to him What contributed greatly to forward the affair, was a copy of a letter, whether real or counterfeit, which was circulated, and said to have been written by Otho before his decease to Vespasian, recommending to him in the most urgent terms to avenge his death, and entreating him to come to the aid of the commonwealth, as well as a report which was circulated, that Vitellius, after his success against Otho, proposed to change the winterquarters of the legions, and remove those in Germany to a legical content of the legions, and remove those in Germany to a legical content.



monished in a dream by the god Scrapis to seek his aid, who assured them that he would restore sight to the one by anointing his eyes with his spittle, and give strength to the leg of the other, if he vouchsafed but to touch it with his heel. At first he could scarcely believe that the thing would any how succeed, and therefore hesitated to venture on making the experiment. At length, however, by the advice of his friends, he made the attempt publicly, in the presence of the assembled multitudes, and it was crowned with success in both cases. About the same time, at Tegea in Arcadia, by the di-

satisfaction) he strictly examined the priests whichier Basilidez had entered the temple on that day he made inquiries of all he met, whether he had been seen in the city, nay, further, he dispatched messengers on horseback, who ascertained that at the time specified, Basilides was more than eighty miles from Alexandria Then Vespasian comprehended that the appearance of Basilides, and the answer to his prayers given through him, were

by divine interposition Tacit Hist is 82 2

1 The account given by Tacitus of the miracles of Vespasian is fuller than that of Suctomus, but does not materially vary in the details, except that, in his version of the story, he describes the impotent man to be lame in the hand, instead of the leg or the knee, and adds an important circumstance in the case of the blind man, that he was "notus tabe occulorum," notorious for the disease in his eyes. He also winds up the narrative with the following statement. "They who were present, relate both these cures, even at this time, when there is nothing to be gained by lying." Both the historians lived within a few years of the occurrence, but their works were not published until advanced periods of their lives. The closing remark of Tacitus scenis to indicate that, at least, he did not entirely discredit the account, and as for Suetomus, his pages are as full of prodigies of all descriptions, related apparently in all good faith, as a monkish chronicle of the Middle Ages.

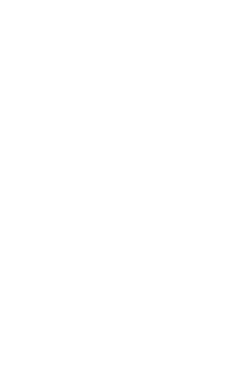
The story has the more interest, as it is one of the examples of successful imposture, selected by Hume in his Essay on Miracles, with the reply to which by Paley, in his Evidences of Christianity, most readers are familiar. The commentators on Suetonius agree with Paley in considering the whole affair as a juggle between the priests, the patients, and, probably, the emperor. But what will, perhaps, strike the reader as most remarkable, is the singular coincidence of the story with the accounts given of several of the miracles of Christ, whence it has been supposed, that the scene was planned in imitation of them. It did not fall within the scope of Dr. Paley's argument to advert to this, and our own brief illustration must be strictly confined within the limits of historical disquisition. Adhering to this principle, we may point out that if the idea of plagiarism be accepted, it receives some confirmation from the incident related by our author in a preceding paragraph, forming, it may be considered, another scene of the same drama, where we find Basilides appearing



for having appointed him to command a squadron of horse, he turned away his head in disgust, and, giving him this sharp reprimand, "I had rather you had smelt of garlic," revoked his commission When the men belonging to the fleet, who travelled by turns from Ostra and Puteoli to Rome, petitioned for an addition to their pay, under the name of shoe-money, thinking that it would answer little purpose to send them away without a reply, he ordered them for the future to run barefooted, and so they have done ever since He deprived of their liberties, Achaia, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium, and Samos, and reduced them into the form of provinces, Thrace, also, and Cilicia, as well as Comagene, which until that time had been under the government of kings Ho stationed some legions in Cappadocia on account of the frequent inroads of the barbarrans, and, instead of a Roman knight, appointed as governor of it a man of consular rank The ruins of houses which had been burnt down long before, being a great desight to the city, he gave leave to any one who would, to take possession of the void ground and build upon it, if the proprietors should hesitate to perform the work themselves Ho resolved upon rebuilding the Capitol, and was the foremost to put his hand to clearing the ground of the rubbish, and removed some of it upon his own shoulder And he undertook, likewise, to restore the three thousand tables of brass which had been destroyed in the fire which consumed the Capitol, searching in all quarters for copies of those curious and ancient records, in which were contained the decrees of the senate, almost from the building of the city, as well as the acts of the people, relative to alliances, treaties, and privileges granted to any person

IX He likewise erected several new public buildings, namely, the temple of Peace near the forum, that of Claudius on the

The temple of Peace, erected A D 71, on the conclusion of the wars with the Germans and the Jews, was the largest temple in Rome Wespasian and Titus deposited in it the sacred vessels and other spoils which were carried in their triumph after the conquest of Jerusalem. They were consumed, and the temple much damaged, if not destroyed, by fire, towards the end of the reign of Commodus, in the year 191. It stood in the Forum where some ruins on a prodigious scale, still remaining, were traditionally considered to be those of the Trimple of Peace, until Piranesi contended that they are part of Nero's Golden House. Others suppose that they are the remains of a Basilica. A beautiful fluted Co-



a bendwoman herself, and that usurers should not be allowed to take proceedings at law for the recevery of money lent to young men whilst they lived in their father's family, not even after their fathers were dead

XII In other affairs, from the beginning to the end of his government, he conducted himself with great moderation and clemency. He was so far from dissembling the obscurity of his extraction, that he frequently made mention of it himself. When some affected to trace his pedigree to the founders of Reate, and a companion of Hercules, whose monument is still to be seen on the Salarian road, he laughed at them for it. And he was so little fond of external and adventitious ornaments, that, on the day of his triumph, being quite tired of the length and tediousness of the piocession, he could not forbear saying, "he was rightly served, for having in his old age been so silly as to desire a triumph, as if it was either due to his ancestors, or had ever been expected by himself." Nor would he for a long time accept of the tribunitian authority, or the title of Father of his Country. And in regard to the custom of searching those who came to salute him, he dropped it even in the time of the civil war.

XIII He bore with great mildness the freedom used by his friends, the satirical allusions of advocates, and the petulance of philosophers. Licinius Mucianus, who had been guilty of notorious acts of lewdness, but, presuming upon his great services, treated him very rudely, he reproved only in private, and when complaining of his conduct to a common friend of theirs, he concluded with these words, "However, I am a man" Salvius Liberalis, in pleading the cause of a rich man under prosecution, presuming to say, "What is it to Cæsar, if Hipparchus possesses a hundred millions of sesterces?" he commended him for it Demetrius, the Cynic philoso-

<sup>1</sup> Hercules is said, after conquering Geryon in Spain, to have come into this part of Italy One of his companions, the supposed founder of Reate, may have had the name of Flavus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vespasian and his son Titus had a joint triumph for the conquest of Judæa, which is described at length by Josephus, *De Bell Jud* vii 16 The coins of Vespasian exhibiting the captive Judæa (Judæa capta), are probably familiar to the reader See Harphrev's Coin Collector's Manual, p 328



Though he did indeed banish him, and afterwards ordered him to be put to death, yet he would gladly have saved him notwithstanding, and accordingly dispatched messengers to fetch back the executioners, and ho would have saved him, had he not been deceived by a false account brought, that he had already perished. He never rejoiced at the death of any man, nay he would shed tears, and sigh, at the just punishment of the guilty

XVI The only thing deservedly blameable in his character was his love of money. For not satisfied with reviving the imposts which had been repealed in the time of Galba, he imposed new and onerous taxes, augmented the tribute of the provinces, and doubled that of some of them Ho likowise openly engaged in a traffic, which is discreditable even to a private individual, buying great quantities of goods, for the purpose of retailing them again to advantage. Nay, he made no scruple of selling the great offices of the state to eandidates, and pardons to persons under prosecution, whether they were innocent or guilty. It is believed, that he advanced all the most rapacious amongst the procurators to higher offices, with the view of squeezing them after they had acquired great He was commonly said, "to have used them as sponges," because it was his practice, as wo may say, to wet them when dry, and squeeze them when wet It is said that he was naturally extremely covetous, and was upbraided with it by an old herdsman of his, who, upon the emperors iefusing to enfranchise him gratis, which on his advancement ho hambly petitioned for, eried out, "That the fox charged his hair, but not his nature" On the other hand, some are of opinion, that he was urged to his rapacious proceedings by necessity, and the extreme poverty of the treasury and exchequer, of which he took public notice in the beginning of his reign, declaring that "no less than four hundred thousand millions of sesterces were wanting to carry on the government "This is the more likely to be true, because he applied to tho best purposes what he procured by bad means

XVII His liberality, however, to all ranks of people, was excessive He made up to several senators the estate required <sup>1</sup> Cicero speaks in strong terms of the son didness of retail trade,—Off 1 24



the theatre of Marcellus¹ was repaired, he restored the old musical entertainments. He gave Apollinaris, the tragedian, four hundred thousand sesterces, and to Terpinus and Diodorus, the harpers, two hundred thousand, to some a hundred thousand, and the least he gave to any of the performers was forty thousand, besides many golden crowns. He entertained company constantly at his table, and often in great state and very sumptiously, in order to promote trade. As in the Saturnalia he made presents to the men which they were to carry away with them, so did he to the women upon the calends of March,² notwithstanding which, he could not wipe off the disrepute of his former stinginess. The Alexandrians called him constantly Cybiosactes, a name which had been given to one of their kings who was sordidly avaricious. Nay, at his funeral, Favo, the principal mimic, personating him, and imitating, as actors do, both his manner of speaking and his gestures, asked aloud of the procurators, "how much his funeral and the procession would cost?" And being answered "ten millions of sesterces," he cried out, "give him but a hundred thousand sesterces, and they might throw his body into the Tiber, if they would"

XX He was broad-set, strong-limbed, and his features gave the idea of a man in the act of straining himself. In consequence, one of the city wits, upon the emperor's desiring him "to say something droll respecting himself," facetiously answered, "I will, when you have done relieving your bowels" He enjoyed a good state of health, though he used no other means to preserve it, than repeated friction, as much

At the men's Saturnalia, a feast held in December attended with much revelling, the masters waited upon their slaves, and at the women's Saturnalia, held on the first of March, the women served their female at-

tendants, by whom also they sent presents to their friends

Notwithstanding the splendour, and even, in many respects, the refinement of the imperial court, the language as well as the habits of the highest classes in Rome seem to have been but too commonly of the grossest description, and every scholar knows that many of their writers are not very delicate in their allusions. Apropos of the ludicrous account given in the text, Martial, on one occasion, uses still plainer language

Utere lactucis, et mollibus utere malvis Nam faciem durum Phæbe, cacantis habes —111. 89.

<sup>1</sup> See Augustus, c xxix.



dred thousand sesterces When his steward desired to know how he would have the sum entered in his accounts, he replied, "For Vespasian's being seduced"

XXIII He used Greek verses very wittily, speaking of a tall man, who had enormous parts

Mang L Gιζας πραδάων δολιχόσπιον έγχος, Still shaking, as he strode, his vast long spear

And of Cerylus, a freedman, who being very rich, had begun to pass himself off as free-born, to elude the exchequer at his decease, and assumed the name of Laches, he said

> ----- Ω Λάχης, Λάχης, Έπαν ἀποθάνης, αὐθις ἐξ ἀξχῆς ἔση Κήρυλος.

Ah, Laches, Laches when thou art no more, Thou'lt Cerylus be called, just as before

He chiefly affected wit upon his own shameful means of raising money, in order to wipe off the odium by some joke, and turn it into ridicule. One of his ministers, who was much in his favour, requesting of him a stewardship for some person, under pretence of his being his brother, he deferred granting him his petition, and in the meantime sent for the candidate, and having squeezed out of him as much money as he had agreed to give to his friend at court, he appointed him immediately to the office. The minister soon after renewing his application, "You must," said he, "find another brother, for the one you adopted is in truth mine."

Suspecting once, during a journey, that his mule-driver had alighted to shoe his mules, only in order to have an opportunity for allowing a person they met, who was engaged in a law-suit, to speak to him, he asked him, "how much he got for shoeing his mules?" and insisted on having a share of the profit. When his son Titus blamed him for even laying a tax upon urine, he applied to his nose a piece of the money he received in the first instalment, and asked him, "if it stunk?" And he replying no, "And yet," said he, "it is derived from urine"

Some deputies having come to acquaint him that a large statue, which would cost a vast sum, was ordered to be erected for him at the public expense, he told them to pay it down im-

end a cle h ling out the holl which has had a latelegate remain ham reade for the state. The Name was a surfar the immediate where more a hipself of the provide her fair from a first a surfar the state of the provide her the provide ham of the fair to a surfar as a filter provide had been surfar as a filter provide his limited to the provide had been as a filter provide had been as a filter

NNI In Ma worth, on the top and two incoming it with a control of the control of

XXI All are spreed that I e had such exhibit needs the calculations on I is own nativity and that of I is an at the after several constitutions again this he had the senate that either his some would succeed him or a 1 ly 1 it is additionable that he once saw in a drawn a halance in the million of the parch of the I alatine house exactly polyedy in a cro

I The Fla isn faulty had their own tomb. Fre Remission e.v. The product therefore did not concern Color and the tomb of the I had faulty are Aventy C. C.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to the spechencia of the emperors.

<sup>4</sup> Certific was a small lake about there-quarters of a salle from Res of owe called Lapse di Contribution. It was stry deep, and large for force springs in the seriphosoming little, the water was exceed ply the sand cold see that it was frequented by in able who required a spread preparate parternal existence lay in the neigh sourhood of fraste, for chap it also.

scale of which stood Claudius and Nero, in the other, himself and his sons The event corresponded to the symbol, for the reigns of the two parties were precisely of the same duration 1

Neither consanguinity nor adoption, as formerly, but great influence in the army having now become the road to the imperial throne, no person could claim a better title to that elevation than Titus Flavius Vespasian. He had not only served with great reputation in the wars both in Britain and Judæa, but seemed as yet untainted with any vice which could pervert his conduct in the civil administration of the empire. It appears, however, that he was prompted more by the persuasion of friends, than by his own ambition, to prosecute the attainment of the imperial dignity. To render this enterprise more successful, recourse was had to a new and peculiar artifice, which, while well accommodated to the superstitious credulity of the Romans, impressed them with an idea, that Vespasian's destiny to the throne was confirmed by supernatural indications. But, after his elevation, we hear no

more of his miraculous achievements

The prosecution of the war in Britain, which had been suspended for some years, was resumed by Vespasian, and he sent thither Petilius Cerealis, who by his bravery extended the limits of the Roman province Under Julius Frontinus, successor to that general, the invaders continued to make farther progress in the reduction of the island but the commander who finally established the dominion of the Romans in Britain, was Julius Agricola, not less distinguished for his military achievements, than for his prudent regard to the civil administration of the country He began his operations with the conquest of North Wales, whence passing over into the island of Anglesey, which had revolted since the time of Suetonius Paulinus, he again reduced it to subjection Then proceeding northwards with his victorious army, he defeated the Britons in every engagement, took possession of all the territories in the southern parts of the island, and driving before him all who refused to submit to the Roman arms, penetrated even into the forests and mountains of Caledonia He defeated the natives under Galgacus, their leader, in a decisive battle, and fixing a line of garrisons between the friths of Clyde and Forth, he secured the Roman province from the incursions of the people who occupied the parts of the island

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Each dynasty lasted twenty-eight years. Claudius and Nero both reigning fourteen, and, of the Flavius family, Vespasian reigned ton, Titus three, and Domitian fifteen.

berend that I en day. Wherever he retable held it. Bernan prier Le introduced leves d'entilisters ere cot the trible tert and emphased every mour of even at a their affection.

well wel serunt, the relationer

The war in Judge which had been over morned under the fir ger men was nett end in that of Trepe, in, but he left the repect Jera alem to be resducted by his sea Tir who disand great calogrand to larg to pt to the present world . erterime. After an eint gate deferen br tie dens that ein so rucked batchin the send unite we failt a relied and the glorous terp ested) the advertise of the will redured to silver neutring larger r to the will of Titus which erted his atmost effort, in ent are, hitle flare

The manners of the homes had some attained to an error on patch of depressing the mugh the and analothern increase of the times; as I to the homest of Verya and he was a traingress of all in la endest was to eff et a s studel pel emetem. I reitent s tire and person our he was ted fight a in the man gracest of amble all re as I rue to the menter before day tered to go g sulmer to la effects of state. Hat if we give mil to the whim was imposition of a tax whom under we extinct est it in any high equation enther of the talents as a financer or of the resurrestille Roman empire. Bybs epocata in ht flaceine. h di played al berality of which there seems to example under all the preceding engerors since the time of Augu tu. Pling the elder wa now in the height of regulation as well as in great farour with I especially and it was probably owing ted a hill to the advice of that minuter that the emperor showed himself so much the patron of literary men Ampter mentained frequently ly Plury and who lived in this reign, was Liciniu Muchi ite a Homen knight a he treated of the last ey and grouping by of the eastern countries. Jurenal who had begun he bater acceptation years before continued to inveloh again t the flagrant siers of the times; but the only author whose writing we have to in the in the present reign, is a poet of a different class

C. Valletta Flacers wrote a poem in eight books on the Function of the Argonauts; a subject which, next to the wars of Thebes and Troy was in ancient times the most celebrated. Of the life of this author biographers have transmitted no particulars; but we may place his birth in the reign of Tiberius before all the writers who flourished in the Augustan age were extinct. He enjoyed the rays of the setting sun which had illumined that glorious period and he discovers the efforts of an ambition to recall its meridian aplendour. As the poem was left

meomplete by the death of the author, we can only judge imperfeetly of the conduct and general consistency of the fable but the most difficult part having been executed, without any room for the censure of candid criticism, we may presume that the sequel would have been finished with an equal claim to indulgence, if not to applause The traditional anecdotes relative to the Argonautic expedition are introduced with propriety, and embellished with the graces of poetical fiction In describing scenes of tenderness, this author is happily pathetic, and in the heat of combat, proportionably animated His similes present the imagination with beautiful imagery, and not only illustrate, but give additional force to the subject We find in Flaceus a few expressions not countenanced by the authority of the most celebrated Latin writers His language, however, in general, is pure, but his words are perhaps not always the best that might have been chosen The versification is elevated, though not uniformly harmonious, and there pervades the whole poem an epic dignity, which renders it superior to the production ascribed to Orpheus, or to that of Apollonius, on the same subject.

## TITUS FIREIUS RESPONISAS AUGISTUS

I fin at lift or enough lift we led to price after the rith as all sprice after the rith as all sprice after the rith and the rith and an all and an all and and all a

If If we claracidating a west line is a listing of in the came has of lander or has the formation fluring thicking the formation of the land in the factor of the formation of the factor of the factor of linianizary to the factor of linianizary for the factor of linianizary for the factor of linear the factor of linear the factor of linianizary for li

Califola Titus was large a re 1913 at w n 49

Aritanalous, the son of Claudius and Messaline.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The hypidomium was a streaks builth of it or in torice. The remains of that of My time Serron, will be also do not evident face if the II in, remained till the time of Pope Mint. A, who removed it and employed thitly-cipit of it; colours in remained by the charch of it. I even it does not appear whether the beptimelion here mentioned as entiting in the time of Titos, wood on the same post.

III While yet a boy, he was remarkable for his noble endowments both of body and mind, and as he advanced in years, they became still more conspicuous. He had a fine person, combining an equal mixture of majesty and grace, was very strong, though not tall, and somewhat corpulent. Gifted with an excellent memory, and a capacity for all the arts of peace and war, he was a perfect master of the use of arms and riding, very ready in the Latin and Greck tongues, both in verse and prose, and such was the facility he possessed in both, that he would harangue and versify extempore. Nor was he unacquainted with music, but could both sing and play upon the harp sweetly and scientifically. I have likewise been informed by many persons, that he was remarkably quick in writing short-hand, would in merriment and jest engage with his secretaries in the imitation of any hand-writing he saw, and often say, "that he was admirably qualified for forgery"

IV He filled with distinction the rank of a military tribunc both in Germany and Britain, in which he conducted himself with the utmost activity, and no less modesty and reputation, as appears evident from the great number of statues, with honourable inscriptions, erected to him in various parts of both those provinces. After serving in the wars, he frequented the courts of law, but with less assidiuty than applause. About the same time, he married Arricidia, the daughter of Tertullus, who was only a knight, but had formerly been prefect of the pretorian guards. After her decease, he married Maicia Furnilla, of a very noble family, but afterwards divorced her, taking from her the daughter he had by her. Upon the expiration of his quæstorship, he was raised to the rank of commander of a legion, and took the two strong cities of Tarichæa and Gamala, in Judæa, and having his horse killed under him in a battle, he mounted another, whose rider he had encountered and slain

V Soon afterwards, when Galba came to be emperor, he was sent to congratulate him, and turned the eyes of all people upon himself, wherever he came, it being the general opinion amongst them, that the emperor had sent for him with a design to adopt him for his son. But finding all things again in confusion, he turned back upon the road, and going to con

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ent the cracks of Verms at Laplace about his repays has nected annual eracle taking the empre followill. There I nes w respectily straggl and a I long left to faith the n lat m of Julya, in the find account of Jerusalem 1 slew seren of its def r to with the like number of arrows and b kit men haderelt relith a r ho en tweetle i r and attache rt of the albert that in the proportionals a ther marin a ly eduted him ly the tit of Leij no 'and upon his quitting the prising som afternant will regis have detained him earn thy logging I ma, and that not with out threats I either to elsy or take them all with I m This eccurrence gave rise to the sort or a This leang en month in a design to relel again t his fit r and clim fr limelt the gremment of the lat and the engire bechaved when on hi way to tlexanlels, I ween a dis 'em at the cen e cration of the or time at M mills as I though be did it only in compliance with an encl at religi as usage of the country wit there was some who jest a lod our trusts a ujon it. Making therefore what he elected into Italy he arrived first at liberrum and sailing therer in a merchant ship to Putcell went to Rome with all possible expedition. Present ing himself unexpectedly to his fither he said by way of contradicting the strange reports raised concerning him am come father I am come

VI From that time he constantly acted as colleague with his father and indeed, as regent of the empire He trium; hed

I Jeroulem was taken sucked, and turnt by Thus, after a to searn aloge on the 8th September are e #21 a.m. 621 it ledge the bubluth. It was in the second year of the reign of Verpulan, when the emperer was sixty years old, and Titus blune I as be informs us, thirty | For par ticulars of the siege are Josephus, for field, Jud 11 and vil 1 Heresipous Ereid Hieront v | Die tart ; Tacitos, Hi I v ; Ormins, all. y

I for the sente in which Titus was sal ted with the title of Emperor by

the troops see Jutter Catan, e trail.

The joint triumph of 1 experien and Titus which was celebrated a u.c. 521 is fully described by Josephus, Pt. Rell. Jud. vil. 21 1 it is commencerated by the triumphal monument called the Arch of Titus erected by the senate and people of Rome after his death, and still standlag at the foot of the I slating Hall, on the road leading from the Colosscum to the Forum, and is one of the most brautiful as well as the most interesting models of Roman art. It consists of four stories of the three orders of architecture, the Corint ian being repeated in the two highests

with his father, bore jointly with him the office of censor,1 and was, besides, his colleague not only in the tribunitian authority,2 but in seven consulships 3 Taking upon himself the care and inspection of all offices, he dictated letters, wrote proclamations in his father's name, and pronounced his speeches in the senate in place of the quæstor He likewise assumed the command of the pretorian guards, although no one but a Roman knight had ever before been their prefect In this he conducted himself with great haughtiness and violence, taking off without scruple or delay all those he had most reason to suspect, after he had secretly sent his emissaries into the theatres and camp, to demand, as if by general consent, that the suspected persons should be delivered up to punish-Among these, he invited to supper A Cæcina, a man mentof consular rank, whom he ordered to be stabled at his departure, immediately after he had gone out of the room this act, indeed, he was provoked by an imminent danger, for he had discovered a writing under the hand of Cæcina, containing an account of a plot hatched among the soldiers these acts, though he provided for his future security, yet for the present he so much incurred the hatred of the people, that scarcely ever any one came to the empire with a more odious character, or more universally disliked

VII Besides his cruelty, he lay under the suspicion of giv-Some of the bas-reliefs, still in good preservation, represent the table of the shew-bread, the seven branched golden candlestick, the vessel of inrense, and the silver trumpets, which were taken by Titus from the I emple at Jerusalem, and, with the book of the law, the veil of the temple, and other spoils, were carried in the triumph. The fate of these sacred ielics is rather interesting. Josephus says, that the veil and books of the law were deposited in the Palatium, and the rest of the spoils in the lemple of Peace When that was burnt, in the reign of Commodus, these treasures were saved, and they were afterwards carried off by Gen-Belisarius recovered them, and brought them to Constantinople, A D 520 Procopius informs us, that a Jew, who saw them, told an acquaintance of the emperor that it would not be advisable to carry them to the palace at Constantinople, as they could not remain anywhere else but where Solomon had placed them This, he said, was the reason why Genseric had taken the Palace at Rome, and the Roman army had in turn taken that of the Vandal kings Upon this, the emperor was so alarmed, that he sent the whole of them to the Christian churches at J⊈ 33alem

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leg way to but of leasure as the firm problemed his eveletill milingly with their of moons of his organization. Nor was been supported of I water, on account of the searms of extents a act of mode about his will be mode about his will be marked from his a list organization of the mode about his will be supported as promose of marine. He will suppose to he of a re-actions day wittens of rate action that, in cares which care the mode and take his suppose to the first section that, in care which care the mode and take his suppose to the first his transfer and take his suppose to the first probability of the mode and the control to all analyze and other will be proposed to the mode and the first them is of writtens. He entertained the extraction of the control to the care the mode act of the control to the control the mode and the sale. He immediately will be supposed to the mode and the sale. He mind their inclinations. Son of his obstances the grained about the whole compile hed dancers that they be a numerount hill sway upon the stage he was a fur from treating with any extra milinary kinds we that he would it to much a with each trap form more in the crowded theatre. He vil lated no private right more in the crowded theatre.

4 Bereake whose parts is written by nor nathow and eithern Berenke and a plate of Agrippe the Creat, who was 16 plate thats, grandson of litered the Girat. His 1 g fewe contracted to Muh, son of Akeunder Lysimschus 16 ded let eet telle union, and Agrippe mutrick bet to Mirrod, Mark a breaker for whom he had obtained from the emperor Claidions th. Hingdown of Chalein. Heread all dy g liters see then a wildow lated with her brother Agrippe, and was us peet def an increta one laterestern with him. How as a this time that an their way to the imperial court at Reme they pall a vuid to Federa at Centare and were precast whose fit. Fed an waved his accurate to elegentic before the tribunal of the povernor. Her f relations were 1 great that it shield herelf from his chury of facest the per and on Debenous, it g of Clinica, to submit to be circumscheed, become a few and many her. That shows the desired the property of the control of the contro

and if ever man refrained from injustice, he did, nay, he would not accept of the allowable and customary offerings. Yet, in munificence, he was inferior to none of the princes before him. Having dedicated his amphithentre, and built some warm baths close by it with great expedition, he entertained the people with most magnificent spectacles. He likewise exhibited a naval fight in the old Naumachia, besides a combat of gladiators, and in one day brought into the theatre five thousand wild beasts of all kinds.

The Colosseum—it had been four years in building—See Vishas c ix—2 The Baths of Titus stood on the Esquiline Hill, on part of the ground which had been the gardens of Meccenas—Considerable remains of them are still found among the vinevards, vaulted chambers of vast dimensions, some of which were decorated with analosque paintings, still in good preservation—Litus appears to have creeted a palace for himself adjoining, for the Laocoon, which is mentioned by Pliny as standing in this palace,

was found in the neighbouring ruins

3 If the statements were not well attested, we might be incredulous as to the number of wild heasts collected for the spectacles to which the people of Rome were so passionately devoted. The earliest account we have of such an exhibition, was A U C 502, when one hundred and forty two elephants, taken in Sicily, were produced Pliny, who gives this information, states that hons first appeared in any number, A v c 652, but these were probably not turned loose In 661, Silla, when he was pretor, brought forward one hundred In 696, besides hons, elephants, and hears, one hundred and fifty panthers were shown for the first time dedication of Pompey's Theatre, there was the greatest exhibition of beasts ever then known, including seventeen elephants, six hundred hons, which were killed in the course of five days, four hundred and ten panthers, &c A rhinoceros also appeared for the first time This was A u c 701 of taming these beasts was carried to such perfection, that Mark Antony actually yoked them to his carriage Julius Cresar, in his third dictatorship, A v c 708, showed a vast number of wild beasts, among which were four hundred hons and a cameleopard A tiger was exhibited for the first time at the dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus, A u c 743 was kept in a cage Claudius afterwards exhibited four together exhibition of Titus, at the dedication of the Colosseum, here mentioned by Suctomus, seems to have been the largest ever made, Aiphilinus even adds to the number, and says, that including wild-boars, cranes, and other animals, no less than nine thousand were killed In the reigns of succeeding emperors, a new feature was given to these spectacles, the Circus being converted into a temporary forest, by planting large trees, in which wild animals were turned loose, and the people were allowed to enter the wood and take what they pleased In this instance, the game consisted principally of beasts of chase, and, on one occasion, one thousand stags, as many of the ibex, wild sheep (moufflons from Sardinia?), and other

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VIII He was by rature extern by bepresent first error all the empresent of Talence weening to the example half set them would be belieft thought made by a more procests be salid, and they are seed they was not ben fraces) to tain, and they receive a to the account of them all years proved click, with it wasting for any up, has be needing that Of all who jet thought rany farms be setting that Did all who jet thought for any farms because the limit of a joint has the thinks could jet my be right. No up of the passary than he could jet my be right. No up of the passary down a from an ariser with his pine. One at the per rid edge that his his en burg from this day to only out into the rid edge that his end of party about 1 are 1 and 1

that on his promoting them with a - n f glast to le declan ! He should maken it there ning to it wan fancy but that I the speciators ar I did accordingly. He d med them is bling and very frankly no arosed them to a med thrim is ning and very transity no desert over to a k what the privace. I possing the corne of the Historian party among the gladiaters be for punitry in d in the primary lar down it trainers in their favour but with internative and his dignity or of ing injustice. To emit respectively of a quinting 1 qualanty has mediumed mode now himself of the laths be hal creet I without excluding the e mm n to pl There happened in his reign some dreasful accidents an eruption of mount Vesuvice, in Companie, and a fire in It is which continued during three days or I three me his 1 11 s a plague such as was seaterly ever known I fre Amil ! these many great di asters be net only manif I the concern grading spirate had a see through wild been sut as a a y countries.

were turned lane by the emperor Gordan

1 " Hum perdell." This memorable perch is recarded by accordance

historians, and praised by Epochs and Li Chronicles.

2 A U.C. \$12, A p.72 It is hardly necessary to refer to the well known Epithes of Plugthe year ger of 16 and "0 gi i g an account of the Last eruption of Vennius, in which I'lery the holomen, peri bed. And are herenter p 478

" The great fire at Rome happened to the second year of the reign of Titut. It consumed a large portion of the city and ame g the public buildings destroyed were the semples of Seropis and tele, that of Neptune he baths of Agripps, the Septs, the theaters of Ball as and Pumpey the mildings and library of Angestus on the Lalaum and the temple of Jupiler in the Carital

which might be expected from a prince, but even the affection of a father, for his people, one while comforting them by his proclamations, and another while relieving them to the utmost of his power He chose by lot, from amongst the men of consular rank, commissioners for repairing the losses in Campania The estates of those who had perished by the eruption of Vesuvius, and who had left no heirs, he applied to the repair of the ruined cities With regard to the public buildings destroyed by fire in the City, he declared that nobody should be a loser but himself Accordingly, he applied all the ornaments of his palaces to the decoration of the temples, and purposes of public utility, and appointed several men of the equestrian order to superintend the work. For the relief of the people during the plague, he employed, in the way of sacrifice and medicine, all means both human and divine Amongst the calamities of the times, were informers and their agents, a tribe of miscreants who had grown up under the licence of former reigns These he frequently ordered to be scourged or beaten with sticks in the forum, and then, after he had obliged them to pass through the amphitheatre as a public spectacle, commanded them to be sold for slaves, or else banished them to some rocky islands. And to discourage such practices for the future, amongst other things, he prohibited actions to be successively brought under different laws for the same cause, or the state of affairs of deceased persons to be inquired into after a certain number of years

IX Having declared that he accepted the office of Pontifex Maximus for the purpose of preserving his hands undefiled, he faithfully adhered to his promise. For after that time he was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the death of any person, though he sometimes was justly irritated. He swore "that he would perish himself, rather than prove the destruction of any man". Two men of patrician rank being convicted of aspiring to the empire, he only advised them to desist, saying, "that the sovereign power was disposed of by fate," and promised them, that if there was any thing else they desired of him, he would grant it. He also immediately sent messengers to the mother of one of them, who was at a great distance, and in deep anxiety about her son, to assure her of his safety. Nay, he not only invited them to sup with

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him, but that day at a down fight or springly pleed them the left spring and he and to them the arms of the combinator of this inquite. It is all bless that having had their naturations at the search them, "that a great colority was importing on the father latter man ther land and a tirmli. Though he to the read of them is the minimum tip gain them have to go the strong of the series to relieve, and continuing to present a partie to do the relocation have form the presence of the first head of the results that the first access in that conjuct the continuing the continuing the present in the high the high parties of the first think and the relief high springly the series of the present that the first high parties of the present that the first high parties of the present that the first high parties of the present that the first high that the first high parties of the present the affect in he last of this.

A smid tall these favourable coresmont or 10 was cut off by an untimely death more to the los of markind than himself. At the close of the public spectrally be well bit if it in it presence of the public spectrally be well bit it in it presence of the people and then retired into the balties content 'righter mainched) I come any tind along his content while he was serviciled and I ind thun let be been heard while the amorphore was three. At the first resting like on the root like was serifician and I ind thun let be been rid of rward in a litter they say that he drew took the cur turn and I lacked up its heartan complaining I carrily. That is like was taken from him though be had done nothing to dieserice it for the reward a tion of his that he had occalled to the connection which he had formerly had with his bruther a wrife. But Domitha solemnly I nied it on each; which she would never have done had there been any truth in the report; any she would certainly have glorred in it, as she was forward enough to boast of all her scandidons intrigues.

M He died in the same villa where his father had died

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Vr. pastam ee. f. and galy. The lov. of this emperor and his son Titus for the rural retirement of their paternal series to the Rabins country forms a striking contrast to the victous attachment of each tyrants as Tiberius. d. Caligula for the laturious scenes of Balse or the Bullimons orries of Carel.

before him, upon the Ides of September [the 13th of September], two years, two months, and twenty days after he had succeeded his father, and in the one-and-fortieth year of his age <sup>1</sup> As soon as the news of his death was published, all people mourned for him, as for the loss of some near relative. The senate assembled in haste, before they could be summoned by proclamation, and locking the doors of their house at first, but afterwards opening them, gave him such thanks, and heaped upon him such praises, now he was dead, as they never had done whilst he was alive and present amongst them

Titus Flavius Vespasian, the younger, was the first prince who succeeded to the empire by hereditary right, and having constantly acted, after his return from Judæa, as colleague with his father in the administration, he seemed to be as well qualified by experience as he was by abilities, for conducting the affairs of the empire—But with respect to his natural disposition, and moral behaviour, the expectations entertained by the public were not equally flattering. He was immoderately addicted to luxury, he had betrayed a strong inclination to cruelty, and he lived in the habitual practice of lewdness, no less unnatural than intemperate—But, with a degree of virtuous resolution unexampled in history, he had no sooner taken into his hands the entire reins of government, than he renounced every vicious attachment—Instead of wallowing in luxury, as before, he became a model of temperance, instead of cruelty, he displayed the strongest proofs of humanity and benevolence, and in the room of lewdness, he exhibited a transition to the most unblemished chastity and virtue. In a word, so sudden and great a change was never known in the character of mortal, and he had the peculiar glory to receive the appellation of "the darling and delight of mankind"

Under a prince of such a disposition, the government of the empire could not but be conducted with the strictest regard to the public welfare. The reform, which was begun in the late reign, he prosecuted with the most ardent application, and, had he lived for a longer time, it is probable that his authority and example would have produced the most beneficial effects upon the manners of the Romans

During the reign of this emperor, in the seventy-ninth year of

the Chrommers, heppered the Interrupt of Mennt Venution when the errors are been either 1 for its reliant. Differe the inter-learner are planed by a cent writer subsequent with ordering and a cyan. A left will be the fille which destroyed serial cases a compared by an earthquake which destroyed serial case. I Compare particular the properties of the area reliquate which destroyed serial case. I Compare particular legislates for the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties. The lorning subsequence content to the content to the forming country but as for as the short of fight Loris and error to real. Amount those to when the dresslide crust on proved fathly was large the feed translates transit whose can a fight between the phonomers had been a free within the trage of danger that he could not afterwards escape.

LEIRT summer the little was lorn at before of ar 1 a famir Hed store Lolbm if eary by hemilitare a tore ments in the German war received the dign ty of an incur at Home and was afternant approach concer of Spain In every pulse claracter be acquited himself with girat repu-tation and enjoyed the exteem of the several emperors under whom he lived. The arei luity with which to applied himself to the enfection of information either comes or nacful surpasses all example. From an early Lour in the morning natal late at night he was almost con untily employed in discharges the duties of his public station, in reading or bearing I was read by his amanuepsis and in extracting from them whater a seemed worthy of notice. I ren during his meals and while trav il no in his earning upon busines he presecuted with unremitting real and diligence his taste for enquiry and compilation man ever displayed so storing a persua ion of the value of time or availed I muself so Indu triou ly of it lie consulered every moment as lost which was not employed in literary pursuits. The books which he wrote in consequence of this in lef tigal le ex ertion were according to the account transmitted by his nephew Pliny the younger numerous and on various sullects estalogue of them is as follows: a book on Laurestrian Archery which discovered much skill in the art; the lafe of Q I'vin ponius Secundus; twenty looks of the Wars of Germany : a complete treatise on the Liducation of an Orator in six volumes; right books of Doubtful Discourses written in the latter part of the reign of hero when every kind of moral discussion was attended with danger; with a hundred and sixty rolumes of remarks on the writings of the various authors which he had rerused. For the last mentioned production only and before it was brought near to its accommusumen,, we are told, that he was offered by Largius Licinius four hundred thousand sesterces, amounting to upwards of three thousand two hundred pounds sterling, an enormous sum for the copyright of a book before the invention of printing! But the only surviving work of this voluminous author is his Natural History, in thirty-seven books, compiled from the various writers who had treated of that ex-

tensive and interesting subject If we estimate this great work either by the authenticity of the information which it contains, or its utility in promoting the ad vancement of arts and sciences, we should not consider it as an object of any extraordinary encomiums, but when we view it as a literary monument, which displays the whole knowledge of the ancients, relative to Natural History, collected during a period of about seven hundred years, from the time of Thales the Milesian, it has a just claim to the attention of every speculative enquirer It is not surprising, that the progress of the human mind, which, in moral science, after the first dawn of enquiry, was rapid both amongst the Greeks and Romans, should be slow in the improvement of such branches of knowledge as depended entirely on observation and facts, which were peculiarly difficult of attainment. Natural knowledge can only be brought to perfection by the prosecution of enquiries in different climates, and by a communication of discoveries amongst those by whom it is eultivated But neither could enquiries be prosecuted, nor discoveries communicated, with success, while the greater part of the world was involved in barbarism, while navigation was slow and limited, and the art of printing unknown The consideration of these circumstances will afford sufficient apology for the imperfect state in which natural science existed amongst the ancients But we proceed to give an abstract of their extent, as they appear in the compilation of Pliny.

This work is divided into thirty-seven books, the first of which contains the Preface, addressed to the emperor Vespasian, probably the father, to whom the author pays high compliments. The second book treats of the world, the elements, and the stars. In respect to the world, or rather the universe, the author's opinion is the same with that of several ancient philosophers, that it is a Deity, uncreated, infinite, and eternal. Their notions, however, as might be expected, on a subject so incomprehensible, are vague, confused, and imperfect. In a subsequent chapter of the same book, where the nature of the Deity is more particularly considered, the author's conceptions of infinite power are so inadequate, that, by way of consolation for the limited powers of man, he observes that there are many things even beyond the power of the Supreme Being, such, for instance, as the annihilation of his own existence, to which the author adds, the power

of reading mixth of orm hards from git that it here is to be remarked, that though a fitter state freeze is any stated it the to the cost and gitter with which there is the received in the body was a define with which there were will be a quoted.

The author it create fitter is a little period of it is projected by the gift of a little period of the projects on the gift of a little period of the projects on the gift of the construction of the gift of the construction of the gift of the construction.

It this and there temp a created corning all which dements he hap-detected a temporal collection and more than the form the happens of the which had counted in different parts of the will. It is all to happens a get to rail eastern if general's which a constant through the forth, this as to att. 1. He seems a treatment of emery an and the generation of the human ap on with a number relative at hierral to inter-meted with the general off of Their lith treat figuralisated the bith figuration of the their the finding the literals fixed a leept of the tacifib efferes; il effort enti-fitte tal fitters which gn x per the sea out the forter it fainer the ffleenth of fruit treet the sixteenth I first trees the seventeerth of the cult values of ter a their Bernth fis neulture ninetecath file nature filat Lerit and milar production a the twent cits (the med-cual quality ) getal les cuitts ted in gard a a the twenty fleet of fix estables and second d in gant it is denivered the twenty that of the medium of yelled by cultivated trees, it is not fourth of mediums of denived from furest trees, the trents that the properties of will be the and the crigin of their one it is neverther to other remodes for discusses and of some will as never the best types executed different linds of herborate the tacany eight twenty. much and thereon of medicines procured from animals the animals with some extra edinary fact relative t the subject; the thirty third, of the nature of metals; the thirty f rth of brase from les I and ting the thirty fifth of pectures and observations relative to pulnting; the thirty lith of the nature of stones and marbles; the thirty seventh of the ong n of gem To the contents of each by k the author sulforms a lit of the writers from whom his observations have been a liteted

Of Play a talents as a writer it might be deemed presumptuous to form a decided opinion from his Vatural History which is avowedly a compilat on from various authors and executed with greater regard to the matter of the work than to the clegaper of composition. Making allowance however for a degree of circuli y common to the human mand in the early stage of thy

sical researches, he is far from being deficient in the essential qualifications of a writer of Natural History. His descriptions appear to be accurate, his observations precise, his narrative is in general perspicuous, and he often illustrates his subject by a vivacity of thought, as well as by a happy turn of expression. It has been equally his endeavour to give novelty to stale disquisitions, and authority to new observations. He has both removed the rust, and dispelled the obscurity, which enveloped the doctrines of many ancient naturalists, but, with all his care and industry, he has exploded fewer errors, and sanctioned a greater number of doubtful opinions, than was consistent with the exercise of unprejudiced and severe investigation.

Pliny was fifty-six years of age at the time of his death, the manner of which is accurately related by his nephew, the elegant Pliny the Younger, in a letter to Tacitus, who entertained a

design of writing the life of the naturalist

## TITUS FLAVIUS DOMITIVAUS

I Dourrest was I'm upon the much of the cal ads of Norember [24th O-teler] wh n He fath r mas con ul ele ! (being to chi r upon lie" "or the month fill wine ; in the eight main of the city at the I magrana of in the Law of which he afterwards exarerte I into a tempi family. He is said to have sert the time of he youth in o much want and infamy, that lot all n ter prevel plate be Loging to him and it is well known that Caline I lin a man of presonan rack against whom there is a 1 win of Nero a exant, intitled I main, kept a r te in lie hand writing which he semetimes produced in which Domitian made an a tena tion with him for the f ulest personer. Some likewise have said that he restituted himself to Nerva, who succeeded him In the war with Vit ilius, le fled into the Cardtol with his uncle Faldau and a part of the troops they had in the city ! But the enemy locating in and the tempt being set on fire he hil himself all night with the speristan and next morn ing assuming the di guiso of a worshipper of Isi and mixing with the process of that idle superstition he got over the Tiler with only one attendant, to the house of n woman who was the mother of one of his school fellows and lurked there so close that though the enemy who were ut his heels searched very strictly after him they could not discover him. At last, after the success of his party, appearing in public and being unanimously calufed by the title of Coror he a sumed the office of prater of the City with consular authority but in fact had nothing but the name; for the jurisdiction he trans f mel to his next colleague. He used however his absolute

<sup>1</sup> A.P.C 804

A street in the sixth region of Rome so called probably from a remarkable specimen of this beautiful shrub which had made free growth on the spot.

I VITELLIER, C. XV

<sup>4</sup> Tactius (Hiet iii.) differs from Suctonies, saying that Doublian tech refuge with a client of his father's acar the Velabum. I crhape he found it more safe afterwards to cross the Tiber

power so licentiously, that even then he plainly discovered what sort of prince he was likely to prove. Not to go into details, after he had made free with the wives of many men of distinction, he took Domitia Longina from her husband, Ælias Lamia, and married her, and in one day disposed of above twenty offices in the city and the provinces, upon which Vespasian said several times, "he wondered he did not send him a successor too"

II He likewise designed an expedition into Gaul and Germany, without the least necessity for it, and contrary to the advice of all his father's friends, and this he did only with the view of equalling his brother in military achievements and glory. But for this he was severely reprimanded, and that he might the more effectually be reminded of his age and position, was made to live with his father, and his litter had to follow his father's and brother's carriage, as often as they went abroad, but he attended them in their triumph for the conquest of Judæa, mounted on a white horse Of the six consulships which he held, only one was ordinary, and that he obtained by the cession and interest of his brother He greatly affected a modest behaviour, and, above all, a taste for poetry, insomuch, that he rehearsed his performances in public, though it was an art he had formerly little cultivated, and which he afterwards despised and abandoned Devoted, however, as he was at this time to poetical pursuits, yet when Vologesus, king of the Parthians, desired succours against the Alani, with one of Vespasian's sons to command them, he laboured hard to procure for himself that appointment But the scheme proving abortive, he endeavoured by presents and promises to engage other kings of the East to make a similar request After his father's death, he was for some time in doubt, whether he should not offer the soldiers a donative double to that of his brother, and made no scruple of saying froquently, "that he had been left his partner in tho empire, but that his father's will had been fraudulently set aside" From that time forward, he was constantly engaged in plots against his brother, both publicly and privately, antil, falling dangerously ill, he ordered all his attendants to

One of Domitian's coins bears on the reverse a captive female and coldier, with Germania Devicta

Vespasian, C. Mi. Titus, C. Vi.

case how and spectra collabor during a limite wasse and at hid case public or the four than that of condling him amongst the goar and to show the in , they and edictically edited him more by a coullinguate.

III In the legint leg of his reign 1, wallto , it libily an lear by himse f in private during whi to be him fig. else but cat h thes and sack them them h th 1 h with a thing in. Whin smeanth is religiond which rang one was noth the emperer" it was smit offent a red la Vilme (mpri Vienmuch as a fir boafter Lis al vancement, his wife It mitte for wh m he led n an in hi except consulting and whom the year filling I compli mented with the toll of tugue to I may I perat be in I s with langth art t b put terawar tut will in a st tir afterwards I log unable to I at the aparate a 1 t k l r again under suctence of completing with the gotes impr tunity. During some time there was in hi s lmini rati n a strange mixture of virto and vice until at la t his virtues themplies digentrated into the being a mor name ably conjecture come ming his charact a mainted to arange through want, and to cruelty threugh fear

11 He frequently entertains I the people with most magnifight and couly shows not only in the amplitheater but the error where besides the u ust rives with chariots drawn he two or four horses a-best t, he exhibited the representation of an engagement between both hors and foot, and a sea fight in the amphitheatre. The people were also entertained with the chase of will beasts and the combat of gladiators even in the night time by torch tight. Nor did men only fight in these speciacles, but women also. He can tantly nitended at the games given by the quarsters which had been disused for some time but were revived by him; and upon those ocea sions, always gare the people the liberty of demanding two pair of gladiators out of his own school who appeared last in court uniforms Whenever he attended the shows of gla diators, there stood at his feet a little boy dressed in scarlet with a prodigiously small head, with whom he need o talk very much, and sometimes seriously We are assured that he was overheard asking him, "if he knew for what reason he had in the late appointment, made Metius Rufus governor of Egypt " He presented the people with naval fights, performed by ficets almost as numerous as those usually employed in real engagements, making a vast lake near the Tiber, and building scats And he witnessed them himself during a very heavy rain He likewise celebrated the Secular games,2 reckoning not from the year in which they had been exhibited by Claudius, but from the time of Augustus's celebration of them In these, upon the day of the Circensian sports, in order to have a hundred races performed, he reduced each course from seven rounds to five He likewise instituted, in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, a solemn contest in music to be performed every five years, besides horse-racing and gymnastic exercises, with more prizes than are at present allowed There was also a public performance in elocution, both Greek and Latin, and besides the musicians who sung to the harp, there were others who played concerted pieces or solos, without vocal accompaniment Young girls also ran races in the Stadium, at which he presided in his sandals, dressed in a purple robe, made after the Grecian fashion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown bearing the effigies of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, with the flamen of Jupiter, and the college of priests sitting by his side in the same dress, excepting only that their crowns had also his own image on them He celebrated also upon the Alban mount every year the festival of Minerva, for whom he had appointed a college of priests, out of which were chosen by lot persons to preside as governors over the college, who were obliged to entertain the people with extraordinary chases of wild-beasts, and stage-plays, besides contests for prizes in oratory and poetry He thrice bestowed upon the people a largess of three hundred sesterces each man, and, at a public show of gladiators, a very plentiful feast. At the festival of the Seven Hills, he distributed large hampers of provisions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Such excavations had been made by Julius and by Angustus [Augalin], and the seats for the spectators fitted up with timber in a rude way That was on the other side of the Tiber The Naumachia of Domitian occupied the site of the present Piazza d'Espagna, and was larger and more ornamented

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> AUC 841 See Augustus, C XXXI

This feast was held in December Plutarch informs us that it was instituted in commemoration of the seventh hill being included in the city bounds

to the consortion and especiment of reard small lasket to the common people and on one left in the estimation them the example. The care after each to learn it dependes must be find as added on the control of retainment of material standard for a file and it then it of the crowd the rear in Line but in Linke it the through the rear in Linke it to those into each transpired feeder. If lying to the sentimental proportions on its constraints of the control of the contro

A Herduit mark the edit cowhich it ender red by fire ar lam rest them to fit of which had been interested as seen a time that all the representations as a market in his assume with at the attention of the original feet in Helikestee creeds a rest tingle in the original feet in Cuttor and a forum which is twell there as and attempt of the Harian findly a tolium, on leum as lamanum which of the sunce dug form which the siles of the Circus Maximus, which had to a bornt down were rebuilt.

All the undertook several expeditions, as me from their among from new try. That again the Latit was unprovided, but if it again the harmatars was me are an in tire legion with its commander having been cut iff by them. He sent two expeditions against the Dictars, the first up in the defeat of (typius habinas a man of a notlar rank and

1 The Capital had been burnt, for the Hard time in the great free mentioned Triving with. The first fire Lappeard in the Marian was after which it was rebuilt by Forapey the accord in the reign of Vitellius.

This forum commerced by Donnilan and complied by Neva,

<sup>3</sup> This forum commenced for Bountian and complied by Nerts, adjoined the Roman forum act that of Augusta, manifered in a mining of his Lis. From its communicating with the two others it was called Translateries. Part of the wall which bounced in military whan, of a great height, and 144 parce long. It is composed of square masses of frections very large and authors may comeant; and it is not carried in a stringful like but makes three or four angles as if some buildings had interfered with its direction.

\* The residence of the Harian family was converted into a temple See e. i of the present book,

The Stadium was in the shape of a circus, and used for races both of men and horses.

<sup>3</sup> The Oleum was a building intended for mutical performances. Thera were four of them at Rome

A Sce before e ir 1 See VESPASIAN e xir

the other, upon that of Cornchus Fuscus, prefect of the pretorian echorts, to whom he had entirested the conduct of that war. After several battles with the Citti and Daei, he celebrated a double triumph. But for his successes against the Sarmatians, he only bore in procession the laurel grown to Jupiter Capitolinus. The civil war, begun by Lucius Antonius, governor of Upper Germany, he quelled, without being obliged to be personally present at it, with remarkable good fortune. For, at the very moment of joining battle, the Rhine suddenly thawing, the troops of the birbarians which were ready to join L. Antonius, were prevented from crossing the river. Of this victory he had notice by some presizes, before the messengers who brought the news of it arrived. For upon the very day the battle was fought, a splendid eagle spread its wings round his statue at Rome, making most joyful cries. And shortly after, a rumour became common, that Antonius was slain, nay, many positively affirmed, that they saw his head brought to the city.

VII He made many innovations in common practices. He abolished the Spoitula, and revived the old practice of regular suppers. To the four former parties in the Circensian games, he added two new, who were gold and scarlet. He prohibited the players from acting in the theatre, but permitted them the practice of their art in private houses. He forbad the castration of males, and reduced the price of the ennuchs who were still left in the hands of the dealers in slaves. On the occasion of a great abundance of wine, accompanied by a scarcity of corn, supposing that the tillage of the ground was neglected for the sake of attending too much to the cultivation of vineyards, he published a proclamation forbidding the planting of any new vines in Italy, and ordering the vines in the provinces to be cut down, nowhere permitting more than one half of them to remain. But he did not persist in the execution of this project. Some of the greatest offices he conferred upon his freedmen and soldiers. He forbad two legions to be quartered in the same camp, and more than a thousand sesterces to be deposited by any soldier with the standards, because it was thought that Lucius Antonius

See Nero, c xvi

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This absurd edict was speedily revoked. See afterwards c. xiv

had been encouraged in his late paid of by the large sum deposited in the militure chest by the tending as which he had in the a me winter quarter. He made an addition to the middlenging of the militure sayer.

Vill In the admin tration of justice is was diligent and antiduous and in a rily sat in the form out of ourse to cancel the judgment of the court of The One Hundre t which hallern i neurol three histour eriot n .. He eres i calle continued the judges of the court of recovery to be water of them He set a mark fundamy up on julges wil in the comridideftalinglates a well a ut at ira es re llelil wise in ti-ated the total or and the good to provente a comptent and the feet of the and the desire the content appoint pulped and the feet of the fee for his trial the likewise took such eff that care in punt h ing ma I rat a of the city and gor more of provinces guilty of melerration that ther never were at any time more modifate or more ju t. Met of these aree his night was have seen proceeded for crimes of various kinds. Having taken noon himself the reformation of the juddic manners, his restrained the heave of the populare in sitting promisenously with the knights in the theater beautal us likely pullished to def me persons of rank of either sex he suppressed and inflicted upon their nutlers a mark of infamy. He expelled a man of quaritorian rank from the senate for practising mi mierr and dancing. He delarred infamous women the use of litters as also the right of receiving fegacies, or inheriting cetates Ifn struck out of the list of judges a Roman knight for taking a-ain his wif whom he hal dirorced and pro-oented for adultery. He condemned several men of the sena torian and equestrian orders upon the beantinian law! The lew luces of the Vestal Vergins which had been overlooked by his father and brother he puni hed severely but in dif-ferent ways viz. offences committed before his reign with death and those since its commencement according to ancient custom I or to the two sisters called Oct llater he gave liberty to choose the mode of death which they preferred and banished

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This was an ancient law irrelled against adultery and other pollutions named from its author Galas heatinits, a tribune of the people. There was a Jakan law with the same object. See Apar res c, xxily

their paramours But Cornelia, the president of the Vestals, who had formerly been acquitted upon a charge of incontinence, being a long time after again prosecuted and condomned, he ordered to be buried alive, and her gallants to be whipped to death with rods in the Comitium, excepting only a man of prætorian rank, to whom, because he confessed the fact, while the case was dubious, and it was not established against him, though the witnesses had been put to the torture, he granted the favour of banishment And to preserve pure and undefiled the reverence due to the gods, he ordered the soldiers to lemolish a tomb, which one of his freedmen had erected for his son out of the stones designed for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and to sink in the sea the bones and relies buried ın it.

IX Upon his first succeeding to power, he felt such an abhorrence to: the shedding of blood, that, before his father's arrival in Rome, calling to mind the veise of Virgil,

Impia quam cæsis gens est epulata juvencis,1 Ere impious man, restrain'd from blood in vain, Began to feast on flesh of bullocks slain.-

he designed to have published a proclamation, "to forbid the sacrifice of oxen" Before his accession to the imperial authority, and during some time afterwards, he scarcely ever gave the least grounds for being suspected of covetousness or avarice, but, on the contrary, he often afforded proofs, not only of his justice, but his liberality To all about him he was of his justice, but his liberality To all about him he was generous even to profusion, and recommended nothing more earnestly to them than to avoid doing anything mean. He would not accept the property left him by those who had children. He also set aside a legacy bequeathed by the will of Ruscus Cæpio, who had ordered "his heir to make a present yearly to each of the senators upon their first assembling." He exonerated all those who had been under prosecution from the treasury for above five years before, and would not suffer suits to be renewed, unless it was done within a year, and on condition, that the prosecutor should be banished, if he could not make good his cause. The secretaries of the quæstors having engaged in trade, according to custom, but contrary to to C han low be probed them for what was park, Such paties. The law half ended who is two chails hamomet the tectain of them, by an tell total amount present is at 1 from, to them by present ion. He put a particular proceed is in the excheque by severely partiting the present is and this saying of his was much tall in in the classifier and in the classifier in the purpose of the way much tall in in the classifier.

Not be did not long primaters in this course of commercy. and ju see although he a mer fill into cruelty than into arrance. Il put to death a sel lar of lan the just minic!
th unha mur and thin seek culy leave both in present and the practice of bisart 1 resemble his major as h dil likenim Il emoren e of Tamus fr som of lique r Low tims in I i lit tary erucifeing I ales the scribes who had ting in it it may enduring a few me was not a band of glad attern happening to say that a Thrax was a match for a Marmill but not so f r the exhibiter of the gains. " he ordered him to be drawed from the leuther into the room and tay sed to the dow with this latel upon him mularias' guilty of talking impouty. He gut to death many wanters and amongst them several men of consular rank. In this number were Civica (creals who no be was proconsul in Africa, balvaleenes traffice and Acillia (Balaria him The rest he punished upon very invial occasions as Ælius Lamia for some jo-ular expressions, which were of old date and perfectly harmle s; because upon his commend lng his voice after he had taken his wife from him he re thed 'Alas I hold my tongue 'And when Titus adviced him to take another wife he answered him thus: What' have you a mind to marry?" Salvine Coccelanus was con d mared to death for keeping the barth day of his uncle Otho, the emperor Metius I omposianus, because he was commonly n ported to have an Imperial nativity and to carry about with

<sup>1</sup> See Livy xel. 63, and Cicero against Verres, v. 18

<sup>1</sup> See Vrapastan c. fll.
2 Cant names for gladiators.

The faction which favoured the "Thrax" party

DONITIAN C.L See LEGEAGIAN C. LIT

him a map of the world upon vellum, with the speeched of kings and generals extracted out of Titus Livius, and for giving his slaves the names of Mago and Annibal, Sallustius Lucullus, lieutenant in Britain, for suffering some lances of a new invention to be called "Lucullean," and Junius Rusticus, for publishing a treatise in praise of Pætus Thiasea and Helvidius Priscus, and calling them both "most upright men" Upon this oceasion, he likewise banished all the pullosophers from the city and Italy He put to death the younger Helvidius, for writing a faice, in which, under the character of Paus and Enone, he reflected upon his having divorced his wife, and also Flavius Sabinus, one of his consins, because, upon his being chosen at the consular election to that office, the public errer had, by a blunder, proclaimed him to the people not consul, but emperor Becoming still more savage atter his success in the civil war, he employed the utmost industry to discover those of the adverse party who absconded many of them he racked with a new-invented torture, inserting file through their private parts, and from some he cut off their hands. It is certain, that only two of any note were pardoned, a tribune who wore the narrow stripe, and a centurion, who, to clear themselves from the charge of being concerned in any rebellious project, proved themselves to have been guilty of prostitution, and consequently incapable of exercising any influence either over the general or the soldiers

XI His cruelties were not only excessive, but subtle and unexpected The day before he crueified a collector of his rents, he sent for him into his bed-chamber, made him sit down upon the bed by him, and sent him away well pleased, and, so far as could be inferred from his treatment, in a state of perfect security, having vouchsafed him the favour of a plate of meat from his own table. When he was on the point of condemning to death Aretinus Clemens, a man of consular rank, and one of his friends and emissaries, he retained him about his person in the same or greater favour than ever, until at last, as they were riding together in the same litter, upon seeing the man who had informed against him, he said, "Are you willing that we should hear this base slave tomorrow?" Contemptuously abusing the patience of men, he never pronounced a severe sentence without prefacing it

with words which gated ques friency so that hat allers in a tam re-criain token of a fataleur la in than a milt room necessari. He krught I fee the sente is one president manner and of tream declarethat hat he lead I provided that the was to the sente " as I so influenced thin that there a necessarily as the provided that a the was to the sente " as I so influenced thin that there a necessarily as the provided that the provided the providing to the providing to the provided in the provided that the provided that the provided that the provided that the provided that I introduced with the sentetion there tell all."

VII Having exhauted the exchapter by the expense of his buildings and public eject. In with the augmentation of payl at by granted to the though a time has an attempt at the reduction of the army in out of the same the military charges. But reflecting that he hold by the measure eaples him will to the time the building the extreme bill the first his emburasement, he had records to fund long his subjects by every mode of exaction. The culties of the living and the dead were sequestern loup nony accuration by whomsever preferred. The unsupported allegation of the displaying and the dead were sequestern loup nony accuration by whomsever preferred. The unsupported allegation of the displaying his preferred in contract the dignity of the emperor was sufferent. Inherit anexa, to which he had not the slightest preten ion were confiscated, if there was found so much as one person to say he had heard from the decased when living that he had made the emperor his heir. Best less the exactions from others the poll tax on the Joses was levit I with extreme rigour both on these who lived after the manner of J was in the city without publicly profic ing thems lives to be such? and on those who, by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This cruel praishment is described in X an, e. 2lis.
<sup>2</sup> Octiller who were prot bjert to the Joud h tellirion; or perhaps, rambers of the Ciri this seet who were readmissed with Joen. See the note to Ti x yes e. x. x. The tax level on the Jean was two drachmap perhad. It is a general throughout the employed.

concealing their origin, avoided paying the tribute imposed upon that people. I remember, when I was a youth, to have been present, when an old man, ninety years of age, had his person exposed to view in a very crowded court, in order that, on inspection, the procurator might satisfy himself whether he was circumcised.

From his callest years Domitian was any thing but courteous, of a forward, assuming disposition, and extravagant both in his words and actions. When Cænis, his father's concubine, upon her return from Istria, offered him a kiss, as she had been used to do, he presented her his hand to kiss Being indignant, that his brother's son-in-law should be waited on by servants dressed in white,3 he exclaimed,

## ούκ άγαθὸν τολυκοιρανίη.<sup>4</sup> Too many princes are not good

XIII After he became emperor, he had the assurance to boast in the senate, "that he had bestowed the empire on his father and brother, and they had restored it to him" And upon taking his wife again, after the divorce, he declared by proclamation, "that he had recalled her to his pulvinar" He was not a little pleased too, at hearing the acclamations of the people in the amphitheatre on a day of festival, "Ali happiness to our lord and lady" But when, during the celebration of the Capitoline trial of skill, the whole concourse of people entreated him with one voice to restore Palfurius Suia to his place in the senate, from which he had been long before expelled—he having then carried away the prize of cloquence from all the orators who had contended for it,—he did not vouchsafe to give them any answer, but only commanded silence to be proclaimed by the voice of the error. With equal arrogance, when he dictated the form of a letter to be used by his procurators, he began it thus "Our lord and god commands so and so," whence it became a rule that no one should

<sup>2</sup> This is what Martial calls, "Mentula tributis damnata"

3 The imperial liveries were white and gold

\* See Caligula, c xxi, where the rest of the line is quoted, είς τοιρανος ἔστω

5 An assumption of divinity, as the pulvinar was the consecrated bed on which the images of the gods reposed

We have had Suetomus's reminiscences, derived through his grand-father and father successively, Califula, c xix., Otho, c. x We now come to his own, commencing from an early age

s de l'in el crasse cith rin witing spekir. Il find i ution til concil frilim in the light unit they were figil aris lett and of a ortain weight. He credit so mare magnifical get and anh a sum in el by right sontations of than to drawn by fur hose and eller timm find craim met in different quarters of the city that a wag maril. In or of the arrhes the fin his cell type. "It is or agin," He filled the office formal sevent in times, which is one last event in before him and for the seven militie covering in sizes inequals but in sancher any of them I delicate that the till for the certical event of the matter than the till for the certical event in sizes in parallel to the man at for the matter than the little for the certical event in the description of the matter than the little from the matter than the constant of the matter than the matter than the matter than the second of the matter than the matter than the matter than the matter than the of the preference and the other than the other than the other than the other than the color of the matter than the matter and the other than the color of the other than the o

VII Recoming by these means universily feared and odious, he was at lat taken files accompany to his furnish and farcente freedresh in concert with his wife. He had long ent stained a su picton of the year and day when he should due and even of the very he and manner of his death, all which he had I arned from the Chaldeans when he was a very joung man. His father the at supper lamphed at him for refusing to cateome mushrooms, saying, that if he knew his fate he would rather be afraid of the swich. Being therefore in projected apparents in homoch that he is thought to have withdrawn the other ordering the destruction of the vines chiefly because the copars of at which were dimensional took the first ware dimensional hat the following lines written upon these

Křemi cáze, itle Ka Ima; ir kupti, ie sa Osca itienisai kaleaji Iniainai Gaze thou my root, jet thill my joke suffice To pout on Cross a bead in sacrifice

<sup>3</sup> Domitia, who had been repuliated for an tutrigue with Paris, the actor and afterward taken back.
<sup>5</sup> The lines with a sight accommoustion, are borrowed from the poet.

The pun turns on the similar sound of the Greek word for "enough," and the Latin word for "en arch.

It was from the same principle of fear, that he refused a new nonour, devised and offered him by the senate, though he was greedy of all such compliments. It was this "that as often as he held the consulship, Roman knights, chosen by lot, should walk before him, clad in the Trabea, with lances in their hands, amongst his lictors and apparitors." As the time of the danger which he apprehended drew near, he became daily more and more disturbed in mind, insomuch that he lined the walls of the porticos in which he used to walk, with the stone called Phengites, by the reflection of which he could see every object behind him. He seldom gave an audience to persons in custody, unless in private, being alone, and he himself holding their chains in his hand. To convince his domestics that the life of a master was not to be attempted upon any pretext, however plausible, he condemned to death Epaphroditus his secretary, because it was believed that he had assisted Nero, in his extremity, to kill himself

XV His last victim was Flavius Clemens, his cousin-german, a man below contempt for his want of energy, whose sons, then of very tender age, he had avowedly destined for his successors, and, discarding their former names, had ordered one to be called Vespasian, and the other Domitian Nevertheless, he suddenly put him to death upon some very slight suspicion, almost before he was well out of his consulship. By this violent act he very much hastened his own destruction. During eight months together there was so much lightning at Rome, and such accounts of the phænomenon were brought from other parts, that at last he cried out, "Let him now strike whom he will." The Capitol was struck by lightning, as well as the temple of the Flavian family, with the Palatine-house, and his own bed-chamber. The tablet also, inscribed upon the base of his triumphal statue was carried away by the violence of the storm, and fell upon a neighbouring

Evenus, Anthol 1 vi 1, who applies them to a goat, the great enemy of vineyards Ovid, Fasti, 1 357, thus paraphrases them

Rode caper vitem, tamen hinc, cum staris ad aram, In tua quod spargi cornua possit erit.

<sup>2</sup> See note to c xvii <sup>3</sup> The guilt imputed to them was atheism and Jewish (Christian ) manuers Dion, layir 1112

<sup>1</sup> Plint describes this stone as being brought from Cappadocia, and says that it was as hard as marble, white and translucent, civil c 22

mmorant. The tree which just for the abstracment of Verposin half in presented at 1 researched in leftly to the ground. The policy 1 rture of Prenes of whim it was losed tom neer tests dir to e mr nl the emtire for the cooling year and who lad always given him a favor also reply at last returned him a rid not by as weren t with a tim intenselled. He direct that Microsa, when he wording become as supervitional as we waithdrawing from h transfuary declaring at evently ristium to longer because at a was di armed in Jugater Settling honer riss much affett I lim a an an argue n ly bel taris the as-ted per and he subsequent fite. The person hall then me familiagain thand did not a ny his hiving probable series future tent of which from the intent of it art he could selle had a first will be homein as I him what end he il mght be el ull ernet lime if' To which replying. I shall in a lort time be tem to pieces by dogs. It and red him from diately to be claim, and, in order to deman trate the regity of his set to be canfully huned that during the preparations for x cuting the ord r it happened that the funeral pill was blown loan by a sudden sterm, and that the body half burnt, we bent a locally logs which ing macreed by latinus the connector as he chanced to puls that way he told it amongst the other news of the day to the emperor at another

XVI The day before his d ath, he ordered some dates? screed of at table to be kept till the next of y althing. If I have the lack to use them. And turning to those who were nearest him he said. To-morrow the moon in Aquarius will be bloody in tead of watery on I an er nt will happen which will be much talked of all the world over. About in highly, he was so terrified that he heaped out of bed. That morning he tried and passed sentence on a sex theaver sent from Germany who being consulted about the lightning that had lately

I Garless . . . . .

Colomella (R. R. al. 2) enumerates dates among the foreign fraits cultivated i ttaly cherries dates apricots, and almonds; and l'liny av 11 informs u that Seates Papulus was the first who latroduced the data tree he i p brought it from Affen, he the latter days of togettes.

happened, predicted from it a change of government. The blood running down his face as he scratched an ulceious tumour on his forchead, he said, "Would this were all that is to befall me!" Then, upon his asking the time of the day, instead of five o'clock, which was the hour he dreaded, they purposely told him it was six. Overjoyed at this information as if all danger were now passed, and hastening to the bath, Parthenius, his chambeilain, stopped him, by saying that there was a person come to wait upon him about a matter of great importance, which would admit of no delay. Upon this, ordering all persons to withdraw, he retired into his chamber, and was there slain

XVII Concerning the contrivance and mode of his death, the common account is this The conspirators being in some doubt when and where they should attack him, whether while he was in the bath, or at supper, Stephanus, a steward of Domitilla's, then under prosecution for defrauding his mistress, offered them his advice and assistance, and wrapping up his left arm, as if it was hurt, in wool and bandages for some days, to prevent suspicion, at the hour appointed, he secreted a dagger in them Pretending then to make a discovery of a conspiracy, and being for that reason admitted, he presented to the emperor a memorial, and while he was reading it in great astonishment, stabbed him in the groin But Domitian, though wounded, making resistance, Clodianus, one of his guards, Maximus, a freedman of Parthenius's, Saturius, his principal chamberlain, with some gladiators, fell upon him, and stabbed him in seven places A boy who had the charge of the Lares in his bed-chamber, and was then in attendance as usual, gave these further particulars—that he was ordered by Domitian, upon receiving his first wound, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and call in his domestics, but that he found nothing at the head of the bed, excepting the hilt of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some suppose that Domitilla was the wife of Flavius Clemens (c xv), both of whom were condemned by Domitian for their "impiety,' by which it is probably meant that they were suspected of favouring Christianity Eusebius makes Flavia Domitilla the niece of Flavius Clemens, and says that she was banished to Ponza, for having become a Christian Clemens Romanus, the second bishop of Rome, is said to have been of this family

pointed and the all the decrement of it. I that the emport in the mean time get 1.11 of the plant and throwing him upon the proof, it rings blad ing time with him one while of the terming to wren is the day get for mine mother while the day it for more than the day is the most of the second of O the flow, showing the ferricenth of the calculate of O the flowth of his region. The capes was carried cat upon a commonly lift to put the same and the afforcith of his region. The capes was carried cat upon a commonly lift to put the same and then the paths was more highly at this result has other the paths was "little should be afterward to the temple of the Havian family and might them with the ablast blush at the sold of the of the little thin to be list to use 1.

Will lie was tall in acture his face in lee and very rule ille hall tractive but was dim-nighted institutily graciful in his per neperiod if; in his position are tracting callett at his town well rise to what inward lee was satisfied which were reduced by a ling allness. He was so sentille how much the make the fine countinance. He make such his countinance recommended him that he core male this loss it to the senate. Thus far you have approved by the first blue it to the senate. Thus far you have approved by the first blue it to the senate. Thus far you have approved by the first blue it to the senate. Thus far you have approved by the first form and it him hat he considered it on affinite to himself if only off it is no was repress hed with fit, eith in in just on across it to uph in a small tract he published addressed to a found, corecraing the pre-gration of the hair. He was for their mutual consolation the words following.

Ory apare along a you had a pily oral form?

and yet the fate of my hair awaits mu however. I lear with furtitude this loss of my hair while I am still young. Remember that nothing is more fascinating than beauty but nothing of shorter duration.

VIV He so shrunk from undergoing fatigue that be ear ely ever walked through the city on foot. In his expeditions and on a march, he seldom rode on horse-back, but was generally carried in a litter. He had no inclination for the exercise of aims, but was very expert in the use of the bow. Many persons have seen him often kill a hundred wild animals, of various kinds, at his Alban retreat, and fix his arrows in their heads with such dexterity, that he could, in two shots, plant them, like a pair of horns, in each. He would sometimes direct his arrows against the hand of a boy standing at a distance, and expanded as a mark, with such precision, that they all passed between the boy's fingers, without hurting him

XX. In the beginning of his reign, he gave up the study of the liberal sciences, though he took care to restore, at a vast expense, the libraries which had been burnt down, collecting manuscripts from all parts, and sending scribes to Alexandria, either to copy or correct them. Yet he never gave himself the trouble of reading history or poetry, or of employing his pen even for his private purposes. He perused nothing but the Commentaries and Acts of Tiberrus Cæsar. His letters, speeches, and ediets, were all drawn up for him by others, though he could converse with elegance, and sometimes expressed himself in memorable sentiments. "I could wish," said he once, "that I was but as handsome as Metius fancies himself to be". And of the head of some one whose hair was partly reddish, and partly grey, he said, "that it was snow sprinkled with mead."

XXI "The lot of plinces," he remarked, "was very miserable, for no one believed them when they discovered a conspiracy, until they were murdered" When he had leisure, he amused himself with dice, even on days that were not festivals, and in the morning. He went to the bath early, and made a plentiful dinner, insomuch that he seldom ate more at supper than a Matian apple, to which he added a

This favourite apple, mentioned by Columella and Phny, took its

¹ The famous library of Alexandria collected by Ptolemy Philadelphus had been burnt by accident in the wars. But we find from this passage in Suetonius that part of it was saved, or fresh collections had been made. Seneca (de Tranquill c ix 7) informs us that forty thousand volumes were burnt, and Gellius states that in his time the number of volumes amounted to nearly seventy thousand.

POHITIAN 40.

Jumply of wise cut of a small flak. He give frequent at a 1 splendid criteriannembe but they were seen ever for k = k in probated in the mafter sun set, and in bulged in the rectality of time Le did nothing also but walk by himself in private

All He was in attal of in his lints calling frequent committee with wearing of it is was a seri of extruse absenceds bed withing and it was injected that his pluck! It do hair from his ordering and swam at ut in compart with the listed prediction. His least a single list ling at that time entire in 1 f D matria, le obsainst by reflect like? I that the entire in 1 f D matria, le obsainst by reflect like? I that the entire the ward with lewage in to on their house every case of it down his road there will Title was being. But after she had lest lith his filter and that his left lith romest point in the real that his the production of her dath his things her to procure a mis-arrange will not was with chall by him.

XXIII The people hewed little concern at his disthibit. The solders were rosed by it to great indignation and immediate to indevended to have him ranked among the people for the state of the sold flow were showed by the recence his less if there had been not be take the had been concerned in his a is in time. On the other hand the source rose over people that they me his able to a little as militerariled has memory in the most butter terms endering hadders to be brought in, and his shields and images to be justed down be for their eyes, and do had in piece upon the floor of the senate-house passing at the same time a decree to oblit rate his tiths every where, and aboilet all memory of him. A few months before he was alone a raren on the Capital intered these words: All will be well. Some person gave the following interpretation of this prodigs.

name from C. Mailes, a Roman keight and friend of Augustus, who first lateoduced it. I'll y tells us that Mailes was also the first who brought into yopes the practice of of piping groves. Nuper Tarpeio quæ sedit culmine cornix,
"Est bene," non potuit dicere, dixit, "Erit"
Late croaked a raven from Tarpeia's height,
"All is not yet, but shortly will be, right"

They say likewise that Domitian dreamed that a golden hump grew out of the back of his neck, which he considered as a certain sign of happy days for the empire after him. Such an auspicious change indeed shortly afterwards took place, through the justice and moderation of the succeeding emperors.

IF we view Domitian in the different lights in which he is represented, during his lifetime and after his decease, his character and conduct discover a greater diversity than is commonly observed in the objects of historical detail. But as posthumous character is always the most just, its decisive verdict affords the surest criterion by which this variegated emperor must be estimated by impartial posterity According to this rule, it is beyond a doubt that his vices were more predominant than his virtues and when we follow him into his closet, for some time after his accession, when he was thirty years of age, the frivolity of his daily employment, in the killing of flies, exhibits an instance of dissipation, which surpasses all that has been recorded of his imperial predecessors. The encouragement, however, which the first Vespasian had shown to literature, continued to operate during the present reign, and we behold the first fruits of its auspicious influence in the valuable treatisc of Quintilian

Of the life of this celebrated writer, little is known upon any authority that has a title to much credit. We learn, however, that he was the son of a lawyer in the service of some of the preceding emperors, and was born at Rome, though in what consulship, or under what emperor, it is impossible to determine He married a woman of a noble family, by whom he had two sons. The mother died in the flower of her age, and the sons, at the distance of some time from each other, when their father was advanced in years. The precise time of Quintilian's own death is equally inauthenticated with that of his birth, nor can we rely upon an author of suspicious veracity, who says that he passed the latter part of his life in a state of indigence, which was alleviated by the liberality of his pupil, Pliny the Younger Quintilian opened a school of rhetoric at Rome, where he not only discharged that laborious employment with great applause,

during more than twenty years, but pleaded at the bar and was the first who obtained a salary from the state. In executin, the office of a public teacher. He was also appointed by Demittin preceptor to the two young princes who were intended to succeed, him on the three.

After his returnent from the situation of a t scher Quintilian deroted his attention to the study of his rature, and compared a treatise on the Causes of the Corruption of 1's morre . It the carpest solicitat in of his friend he was afternance in luccil to undertake his I etitation a Ocutionia the most elaborate system of cratery estant in any large or. This work is di sided into twelve | 1 to what help suth r treats with great precion of the qualities of a perfect status explaining to only the fundamental proceptes of all juence a connected with the constitution of the human mind, but positing out 1 th by argument and observation the most necessful in theil fire erciting that admirable art for the accorning brocht fits pury we So migutely and upon so exten reaplan is he insecuted the subject that he delineates the coloration wit lie to a perfect orator from the stage of infaner in the crall to the er amms tion of rheterical fame in the pursuits of the lar or those in general of any public assembly. It is sufficient to say that in the execution of this clat wate work Unintile a has called to the assistance of his own sente as I comprehen are understanding the profound penetration of Arotetle, the exqueite graces of Cherry; all the stores of observation, expendice and practice and in a word, the whole accumulated exertant of ancient gerius on the subject of orstory

It may fully be regarded as an estrawducary viccim sance in the progress of scientific improvement, that the endowment. In perfect critic were never fully called ited to the worl, until it had become dangerous to exercise them fir the may retain purposes for a lich they were originally cultivated. All it is no less remarkable, that under all the violence and captice of imperial despotision which the Romans 1 all now expert need their sensibility to the enjoyment of poetical compositions remained attituable(e.g. as if it served to come to the nation for it erretification for the control of the control of entertain ment they reaped more pleasure during the present reign, than they had done since the thin of Augustus. The poets of this

period were Juvenal Statius, and Martial.

JUVENAL was born at Aquinum but in what year is uncertain; though from some circum tances it seems to have been in the reign of Augustus. Some say that he was the son of a freedman,

while others, without specifying the condition of his father, relate only that he was brought up by a freedman He came at an early age to Rome, where he declaimed for many years, and pleaded causes in the forum with great applause, but at last he betook himself to the writing of satires, in which he acquired One of the first, and the most constant object of his satire, was the pantomime Paris, the great favourite of the emperor Nero, and afterwards of Domitian During the reign of the former of these emperors, no resentment was shown towards the poet, but he experienced not the same impunity after the accession of the latter, when, to remove him from the capital, he was sent as governor to the frontiers of Egypt, but in reality, into an honourable exile According to some authors, he died of chagrin in that province but this is not authenticated, and seems to be a mistake for in some of Martial's epigrams, which appear to have been written after the death of Domitian, Juvenal is spoken of as residing at Rome. It is said that he lived to

upwards of eighty years of age

The remaining compositions of this author are sixteen satires, all written against the dissipation and enormous vices which prevailed at Rome in his time. The various objects of animadversion are painted in the strongest colours, and placed in the most conspicuous points of view Giving loose reins to just and moral indignation, Juvenal is every where animated, vehement, petulant, and incessantly aerimonious Disdaining the more lement modes of correction, or despairing of their success, he neither adopts the raillery of Horace, nor the derision of Persius, but prosecutes vice and folly with all the severity of sentiment, passion, and expression He sometimes exhibits a mixture of humour with his invectives, but it is a humour which partakes more of virulent rage than of pleasantry, broad, hostile, but coarse, and rivalling in indelicacy the profligate manners which The satires of Juvenal abound in philosophica. apophthegms, and, where they are not sullied by obscene de scription, are supported with a uniform air of virtuous elevation. Amidst all the intemperance of sarcasm, his numbers are har-Had his zeal permitted him to direct the current of his impetuous genius into the channel of ridicule, and endeavour to put to shame the vices and follies of those licentious times, as much as he perhaps exasperated conviction rather than excited contrition, he would have carried satire to the highest possible pitch, both of literary excellence and moral utility abatement of attainable perfection, we hesitate not to place him at the head of this arduous department of poetry

Of STATIUS no farther particulars are preserved than that he

was born at Najber; that his fathers name was Statius of I peros and his in there's ignorant has he deed about the rad of the first centure of it. On two reas. In the hare enjection, that he maintained him. The wint of first states for their there to no number of the chore is life or the complessed drawn in the first here period. The works of Statius now estant are two jets in a site Theke and the debillers bend and continued the first here is a selection in a side of the most of the first here is a selection in a side of the most of the first here.

The The Level of the clock hand the subject of it the Thelas war which spipess 1123 persisted for the 4th initial reason for every level and pute between blookes at 11 derivities and of the properties and 11 derivities and receive twithe a colorit original read by the three at a time, and 1 teedes being the Ling of first year on the thinness. The price rule ago hald sate at the experts on of the train Theorem for the control of presented the authority of Linguist (Alasat), it ye of that control in presented the authority of Linguist (Alasat), it ye of that control in presented the authority of the command of the rule of the formation of the command of seven about control in the variety the seven gotes. The best their much by a had been split without any effect it was at 1 tagreed between the two parties that the bootters about determine the dipute by rule combination for the condition of the condits of the condition of the condition of the condition of the cond

If we except the Lacid, this is the only Latin production extant which is epie in its form; and it filemi e spproaches pearest in merit to that celebrated poem which Statin appears to have been ambitlous of emulating. In unity and greatures of action the Thebeis corresponds to the land of the I mica | but the fable may be regarded as defective in a me particulars, which however some more from the nature of the subject that from any fault of the poet. The di thetien of the here is not suffi ciently prominent; and the poem possesses not those circum stances which are requisite towards interesting the reader a affections in the issue of the contest. To the it may be a ided, that the unnatural complexion of the incestuous progeny diffuses a kind of gloom which obscures the splend sur of thought and restrains the sympathetic indulgence of faner to some of the boldest excursions of the poet for grandour however and animation of sentiment and description as well as for harmony of numbers, the Thebale is eminently conspicuous, and deserves to be held in a much higher degree of estimation than it has

generally obtained In the contrivance of some of the episodes, and frequently in the modes of expression, Statius keeps an attentive eye to the style of Virgil. It is said that he was twelve years employed in the composition of this poem, and we have his own authority for affirming, that he polished it with all the care and assiduity practised by the poets in the Augustan age

Quippe, te fido monitore, nostra Thebais, multa cruciata lima, Tentat audaci fide Mantuanæ Gaudia famæ—Silvar lib iv 7

For, taught by you, with stedfast care
I trim my "Song of Thebes," and dare
With generous rivalry to share
The glories of the Mantuan bard

The Achillers relates to the same hero who is celebrated by Homer in the Iliad, but it is the previous history of Achilles, not his conduct in the Trojan war, which forms the subject of the While the young hero is under the care of the poem of Statius Centaur Chiron, Thetis makes a visit to the preceptor's sequestered habitation, where, to save her son from the fate which, it was predicted, would befall him at Troy, if he should go to the siege of that place, she orders him to be dressed in the disguise of a girl, and sent to live in the family of Lycomedes, king of Seyros But as Troy could not be taken without the aid of Achilles, Ulysses, accompanied by Diomed, is deputed by the Greeks to go to Seyros, and bring him thence to the Greeian camp The artifice by which the sagacious ambassador detected Achilles amongst his female companions, was by placing before them various articles of merchandise, amongst which was some armour Achilles no sooner perceived the latter, than he eagerly seized a sword and shield, and manifesting the strongest emotions of heroic enthusiasm, discovered his sex. After an affectionate parting with Lycomedes' daughter, Deidamia, whom he left pregnant of a son, he set sail with the Grecian chiefs, and, during the voyage, gives them an account of the manner of his education with Chiron

This poem consists of two books, in heroic measure, and is written with taste and fancy. Commentators are of opinion, that the Achillers was left incomplete by the death of the author, but this is extremely improbable, from various circumstances, and appears to be founded only upon the word Hactenus, in the conclusion of the poem.

Hadran announced in a control we can be resulted to ment and point and a real of This for composite a wide to the Land My postly lifes a the critical in the call

That any consequent at reference was interfed by factor a sector to mephinisy notion intelly them with all sectors water. So to self-stream and contained any further account of the seal follows and contained and forth all been given in the first to the Trying count, contained with the calculation of the first purpose of the poet admitted of the seal of the seal of the first purpose of the poet admitted of the seal of the first purpose of the poet admitted of the seal of the first purpose of the poet admitted of the seal of the first purpose of the seal of the seal of the first purpose of the seal of the first purpose of the seal of the seal of the seal of the first purpose of the seal of the s

Magna men diseles, fem ut anger T. U. Proposes, et parte et un menere et s. Die infres, quagran and unu et en de pt. Maronos en fer assa la l'en person in fère a entre l'ene et a entre l'ene et au l'entre du de rei l'ent i dans l'entre et al entre l'entre d'autre l'entre l'entre

All or Openhers than Is gold limber who has head that Theodores as there and first est a Was donewed to love his hardwight in the size. The great Tanden. Discount states this match this match his middle deed to go colors to make the size of the training the force has discipling discipling to characterist the discipling discipling the color than the size of the siz

The Stre is a collection of porms almost entirely in herose verse decided into five book, as all 7 of the mat park written extempore. Status himself affirms in 1, 1) feation to be 11g, that the production of none of them employed hum more than two days; yet many of them consist of between one hundre land two hundred lexameter lines. We meet with one of two hundred and sixteen lines; one of two lundred and therefore, one of two hundred and therefore, and seventy-seven; a rapplity of composition approaching to what Horace mentions of the poet Lucilius. It is no small encomium to observe that considered as extemporancous pro-

ductions, the meanest in the collection is far from meriting consure, either in point of sentiment or expression, and many of them contain passages which command our applicate

The poet Martial, surnamed likewise Coquus, was born at Bilbilis, in Spain, of obscure parents. At the age of twenty-one, he came to Rome, where he lived during five-and-thirty years under the emperors Galba, Otho, Vitellius, the two Vespasians, Domitian, Neiva, and the beginning of the reign of Trajan. He was the panegyrist of several of those emperors, by whom he was liberally rewarded, raised to the Equestrian order, and promoted by Domitian to the tribuneship, but being treated with coldness and neglect by Trajan, he returned to his native country, and, a few years after, ended his days, at the age of seventy-fiva. He had lived at Rome in great splendour and affluence, as well as in high esteem for his poetical talents, but upon his return to Bilbilis, it is said that he experienced a great reverse of fortune, and was chiefly indebted for his support to the gratuitous benefactions of Pliny the Younger, whom he had extelled in some

opigrams

The poems of Martial consist of fourteen books, all written in the epigrammatic form, to which species of composition, introduced by the Greeks, he had a peculiar propensity. Anidst such a multitude of verses, on a variety of subjects, often composed extempore, and many of them, probably, in the moments of fashionable dissipation, it is not surprising that we find a large number unworthy the genius of the author Delicacy, and even decency, is often violated in the productions of Martini Grasping at every thought which afforded even the shadow of ingenuity, he gave unlimited scope to the exercise of an active and finitful In respect to composition, he is likewise liable to censure At one time he wearies, and at another tautalises the reader, with the prolixity or ambiguity of his preambles prelusive sentiments are sometimes far-fetched, and converge not with a natural declination into the focus of epigram dispensing praise and censure, he often seems to be governed more by prejudice or policy, than by justice and truth, and he is more constantly attentive to the production of wit, than to the improvement of morality

But while we remark the blemishes and imperfections of this poet, we must acknowledge his extraordinary merits. In composition he is, in general, elegant and correct, and where the subject is capable of connection with sentiment, his inventive ingenuity never fails to extract from it the essence of delight and surprise. His fancy is prolific of beautiful images, and his

induced expert hand any them to the gray of all unitage life best or paragram with a mattle gray of a former with equal distinct. In a find of this was the appear of the control term in a life of the south of the south of the control term in a life in the first to dear the distinct of the life of the south of the life of the

S at long, and quarters programs, and suggesting. Que legin like hist and fig. As 1 Lost form at producers lad direct, and arms after still a sign furth, Artist, you will find be a common that and writes

THE EXD OF THE TWELTE CHALLS

## LIVES

## OF EMINENT GRAMMARIANS.

I The science of grammar<sup>1</sup> was in ancient times far from being in vogue at Rome, indeed, it was of little use in a rude state of society, when the people were engaged in constant wars, and had not much time to bestow on the cultivation of the liberal arts <sup>2</sup> At the outset, its pretensions were very slender, for the earliest men of learning, who were both poets and orators, may be considered as half-Greek I speak of Livius <sup>3</sup> and Ennius, <sup>4</sup> who are acknowledged to have taught both languages as well at Rome as in foreign parts <sup>5</sup> But they

1 It will be understood that the terms Grammar and Grammarian have here a more extended sense than that which they convey in modern

use See the beginning of c. iv

<sup>2</sup> Suetomus's account of the rude and unlettered state of society in the early times of Rome, is consistent with what we might infer, and with the accounts which have come down to us, of a community composed of the most daring and adventurous spirits thrown off by the neighbouring tribes, and whose sole occupations were rapine and war. But Cicero discovers the germs of mental cultivation among the Romans long before the period assigned to it by Suetomus, tracing them to the teaching of Pythagoras, who visited the Greek cities on the coast of Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus—Tusc Quæst iv 1

born of Greek parents He began to teach at Rome in the consulship of Claudius Cento, the son of Appius Cæeus, and Sempronius Tuditanus, Auc 514 He must not be confounded with Titus Livius, the historian,

who flourished in the Augustan age

<sup>4</sup> Ennius was a native of Calabria He was born the year after the consulship mentioned in the preceding note, and lived to see at least his seventy-sixth year, for Gellius informs us that at that age he wrote the

twelfth book of his Annals.

<sup>5</sup> Porcius Cato found Ennius in Sardinia, when he conquered that island during his prætorship. He learnt Greek from Ennius there, and brought him to Rome on his return. Ennius taught Greek at Rome for a long course of years, having M. Cato among his pupils.

enly translated from the Grock and if the recomposed anothing of their own in Latun, it was unity from what they had before and Fernal Reading there are those whose yith at this Linius pullabled two looks can constitute and hyllabled and the either on Metres," I writes Contains a tifful nity proved the try are in the wish of the post Linius, but of abother writer of the same name to whom also the treatment has Roles of August? its attribute to the same of th

Il Craccef Mallor this was in exception the first who introduced they alrest grammer at hore. He was comparant with An orthogonal Hangel on one by his Attalan as error to the wear in the fat real him in the merel and third Pimi ware to maft rite both of Later Lelial the mil f dire to fall ir to an elemen wa rinth I bit equiter of the city at Ital Ital g if rwhich lung it wh agemaleful emlangablemeralemerer | gan ft qu at lecture taking much join to in trut liet and and le has I ft mi an example will worthe of feutation. It was en frill mel, that premed itherto little brown the week either I decraved friends or other approve I writers were I mought ! light and being real and commented on were raphine It there Calus Otarius Langali edite I the Lunie War of Antine which besing been written in one v lume with ut any triak In the manuscrit, he divided into mer n ! La After that Quintus Vargenteins underte k the Annal of Innin which he real on certain fixed days to crowded audiences So La line Archiclans, and Vection Philocomes read and commented on the Satures of their friend Lucibu which Lengus Lompeins a freedman, telle us he studi d under Anh laus; and And rius Cate, under Philocomus Two others also taught and pro-

Arstarcha flourished at Alexandria, in the reign of Ptolemy Philipmeter whose son he educated.

<sup>1</sup> Mallos was near Terens in Chicle. Erates was the sew of Tercerat a a Stole philosopher who for his critical shift had the suranne of Homerica.

A. D.C 573-602 or 605.

<sup>4</sup> Clerro [De Che Orat e xu., De Unert e. v. 1] places the dea h of Funiu a v.c. 681 for which there are other authorities; but this differs from the account given in a former not

<sup>4</sup> The History of the first Panic War by New us is mentioned by Cleero, De Smeet a 14

Licilia, the poet was born about a we COS

moted grammar in various branches, namely, Lucius Elius Lanuvinus, the son-in-law of Quintus Elius, and Service Claudius, both of whom were Roman knights, and men who rendered great services both to learning and the republic

III Lucius Ælius had a double cognomen, for he was called Præconius, because his father was a herald, Sulo, because he was in the habit of composing orations for most of the speakers of highest rank, indeed, he was so strong a partisan of the nobles, that he accompanied Quintus Metellus Numidicus' in his exile Servius<sup>2</sup> having clandestinely obtained his father-in-law's book before it was published, was disowned for the fraud, which he took so much to heart, that, overwhelmed with shaine and distress, he retired from Rome, and being seized with a fit of the gout, in his impatience, he applied a poisonous ointment to his feet, which half-killed him, so that his lower limbs mortified while he was still alive After this, more attention was paid to the science of letters, and it grew in public estimation, insomuch, that men of the highest rank did not hesitate in undertaking to write something on the subject, and it is related that sometimes there were no less than twenty eelebrated scholars in Rome So high was the value, and so great were the rewards, of grammarians, that Lutatius Daphnides, jocularly called "Pan's herd" by Lenœus Melissus, was purchased by Quintus Catullus for two hundred thousand sesterces, and shortly afterwards made a freedman, and that Lucius Apuleius, who was taken into the pay of Epicius Calvinus, a wealthy Roman knight, at the annual salary of ten thousand crowns, had many scholars Grammar also penetrated into the provinces, and some of the most eminent amongst the learned taught it in foreign parts, particularly in Gallia Togata In the number of these, we may reckon Octavius

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Q Metellus obtained the surname of Numidicus, on his triumph over Jugurtha, A v c 644 Ælius, who was Varro's tutor, accompanied him to Rhodes of Smyrna, when he was unjustly banished, A v c 653

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Servius Claudius (also called Clodius) is commended by Cicero, Fam Epist ix 16, and his singular death mentioned by Pliny, xxv 4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Daphnis, a shepherd, the son of Mercury, was said to have been brought up by Pan The humorous turn given by Lenæus to Lutatius's cognomen is not very clear Daphnides is the plural of Daphnis, there fore the herd or company,  $\tilde{\alpha}\gamma\eta\mu\alpha$ , and Pan was the god of rustics, and the inventor of the rude music of the reed.

Tener Succession Lead to and Orgon Can that pen and introduces a traction and and after his of a half when he can be tracted user temporally towards, I should the orthogonal.

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The early grammatine tangle that the also and we have many of their treative which it chile has been equal to reit arese. I think that in later times adding have the two profer ions had then become distinct, the edit of the arm was retained or the grammatines introduced into their training some of the alaments required for public speaking such as the problem the periphrans, the choice of word description of character and the like; in order that they might not ten is re-

<sup>1</sup> Oppins Cares is raid by Marsell a to have written a look on Forest Trees

<sup>2</sup> Quiefflian conversaries Ribarulus among the Roman parts in the tamble on the Catallon and Horser Lattice at 1. Of it foliam have sould give ris the same in supposed to be inserterful gir on. Applicia recast the attraction, who is also motified by Satrondon's harafter in c. at micro blems, the gives an account of Valerias Cato.

their pupils to the rhetoricians no better than ill-taught boys But I perceive that these lessons are now given up in some cases, on account of the want of application, or the tender years, of the scholar, for I do not believe that it arises from any dislike in the master—I recollect that when I was a boy it was the custom of one of these, whose name was Princeps, to take alternate days for declaiming and disputing, and sometimes he would lecture in the morning, and declaim in the afternoon, when he had his pulpit removed—I heard, also, that even within the memories of our own fathers, some of the pupils of the grammarians passed directly from the schools to the courts, and at once took a high place in the ranks of the most distinguished advocates—The professors at that time were, indeed, men of great eminence, of some of whom I may be able to give an account in the following chapters

V Sævius¹ Nicanor first acquired fame and reputation by his teaching and, besides, he made commentaries, the greater part of which, however, are said to have been borrowed. He also wrote a satire, in which he informs us that he was a freedman, and had a double cognomen, in the following verses,

Sævius Nicanor Marci libertus negabit, Sævius Posthumius idem, sed Marcus, docebit

What Sævius Nicanor, the freedman of Marcus, will deny, The same Sævius, called also Posthumius Marcus, will assert

It is reported, that in consequence of some infamy attached to his character, he retired to Sardinia, and there ended his days

VI AURELIUS OPILIUS,2 the freedman of some Epicurean, first taught philosophy, then rhetoric, and last of all, grammar

<sup>1</sup> Probably Suevius, of whom Macrobius informs us that he was the learned author of an Idyl, which had the title of the Mulberry Grove, observing, that "the peach which Suevius reckons as a species of the nuts, rather belongs to the tribe of apples"

<sup>2</sup> Aurelius Opilius is mentioned by Symmachus and Gellius His cotemporary and friend, Rutilius Rufus, having been a military tribune under Scipio in the Numantine war, wrote a history of it He was consul a u c 648, and unjustly hamished, to the general grief of the people, a.u c 659

Having closed his school dess literal I nother II sea when he was laid but to to a a delice the two friend grove i be getter. Headsower servada une monamore felectrotopic zinche dessentation in the properties of the Moore and head of the transfer there being the prime fault transfer. I have that it there being the prime fault transfer the grown in we real indexe he act which I have the full in prime in we real indexe he act which I have two in the halong of the Acade II at

All Mirrer terrages General a fort m to tr of Ganl, was ear mel in her info er a 1 aft re t tr a ed bie freel on from las fact faller a les a - 1 mas N'a the dela territoria at mother and the botton flow popil. The two ter leves to my maly it is to at the times at with they done to were to are. He to sail to have been a run of prosperies of our later my R Il real intinek a well as fatin and fat ets fr ga 1 amendio temper who never tage of at terms exat a fat generally left it to the liberal ty of the at 'm le fort taught in the house of Julius Coast' who a the laur we tret but a bor and afterward in hi own privat for the gare instruction in it to stead a traching it and out by one every day but declaiming only on I make. It is a little some very cel lest I men for que ntel l'i sel el mant se eg others, Marcus Cicero, during il time le tall the pret religi He wrote a number of works although I dil r the beare ! ble fiftheth year but Ittenue, the pall 'm to a that be left only two volumes. He lating bermeter and, that the other works averiled to him were roung well of hield wigher and wen not his although his name Is som times to be I an Inthern

wen not his although his name to some times to be from limiters

VIII M Touristes Autorosiers as a time of Paria, while
he professed to be a grammarian, was not ildered an fille his

lower of the Leicurean sect and little qualified to be a market 'Quintlian mention Caipho, I it i. C. We f. I that Corre was among his popil. The date of his protocking the abelied first the time when Galpho Souriland.

<sup>\*</sup> This strange cognosions is supposed to he e hera derived from a cork arm which supplied the place of one Dresquiss had he to lie use a next of Mitchese

Bee before Junius, e alel.
Boetonius gires bis life in e v

<sup>\*</sup> A L.C. G ?

of a school Finding, therefore, that, at Rome, not only Antonius Gnipho, but even other teachers of less note were preferred to him, he retired to Cumm, where he lived at his ease, and, though he wrote several books, he was so needy and reduced to such straits, as to be compelled to sull that excellent little work of his, "The Index to the Annals," for sixteen thousand sesterees. Orbilius has informed us, that he redeemed this work from the oblivion into which it had fallen and took care to have it published with the anthor's name.

IX Orbitius Pupillus, of Beneventum, being left an orphan, by the death of his parents, who both fell a sacrifice to the plots of their enemies on the same day, acted, at first, as apparitor to the magistrates He then joined the troops in Macedonia, when he was first decorated with the plumed helmet, and, afterwards, promoted to serve on horseback Having completed his military service, he resumed his studies, which he had pursued with no small diligence from his youth upwards and, having been a professor for a long period in his own country, at last, during the consulship of Cicero, made his way to Rome, where he taught with more reputation than profit For in one of his works he says, that "he was then very old, and lived in a garret" He also published a book with the title of Perialogos; containing complaints of the injurious treatment to which professors submitted, without seeking redress at the hands of paients His sour temper betrayed itself, not only in his disputes with the sophists opposed to him, whom he lashed on every occasion, but also towards his scholars, as Horace tells us, who calls him "a flogger," a and Domitius Marsus,3 who says of him -

Si quos Orbihus ferulà scuticaque cecidit If those Orbihus with rod or ferule thrashed

Menimi quæ plagosum mili parvo Orbilium tractare—Epist xi i 70 I remember well when I was voung, How o'd Orbilius thwacked me at my tasks

<sup>1</sup> A grade of inferior officers in the Roman armies, of which we have no very exact idea

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Horace speaks feelingly on the subject.

<sup>8</sup> Domitius Marsus wrote epigrams He is mentioned by Ould ar: Martial.

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<sup>1</sup> This is not the only in tance my should by Royanian of a steep cretch to learned men in the place of their britk or only (1); as a schoolsanier was represented in a state of the Orrek philosophers.
3 Taction [7] and cvi. 73] given the character of Attebus Cay In. 116

was con il Aue 7.4

Asiaint Julio; see frage e nar

<sup>4</sup> Whether Herman was the son or scholar of Calpho, dies not appear

brothers, Appius and Pulcher Claudius; and that he even accompanied them to their province" He appears to have assumed the name of Philologus, because, like Eratosthenes, who first adopted that cognomen, he was in high repute for his rich and varied stores of learning, which, indeed, is evident from his commentaries, though but few of them are extant. Another letter, however, to the same Hermas, shews that they were very numerous "Remember," it says, "to recommend generally our Extracts, which we have collected, as you know, of all kinds, into eight hundred books." He afterwards formed an intimate acquaintance with Caius Sallustius, and, on his death, with Asinius Pollio, and when they undertook to write a history, he supplied the one with short innals of all Roman affairs, from which he could select at pleasure, and the other, with rules on the art of composition. I am, therefore, surprised that Asinius Pollio should have supposed that he was in the habit of collecting old words and figures of speech for Sallust, when he must have known that his own advice was, that none but well known, and common and appropriate expressions should be made use of, and that, above all things, the obscurity of the style of Sallust, and his bold freedom in translations, should be avoided.

XI Valerius Cato was, as some have informed us, the freedman of one Bursenus, a native of Gaul He himself tells us, in his little work called "Indignatio," that he was born free, and being left an orphan, was exposed to be easily stripped of his patrimony during the licence of Sylla's administrations. He had a great number of distinguished pupils, and was highly esteemed as a preceptor suited to those who had a poetical turn, as appears from these short lines.

Cato grammaticus, Latina Siren, Qui solus legit ac facit poetas Cato, the Latir Siren, grammar taught and verse, To form the poet skilled, and poetry rehearse

Besides his Trustise on Grammar, he composed some poems,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Eratosthenes, an Athenian philosopher, flourished in Egypt, under three of the Ptolemies successively Strabo often mentions him Section p 576.

of which his Is a said I fores me were a word Tolly metreste Lite."

I de dorona mai ni cos ilso

who we was to see of lowe of Lore

Cimulifier asto line

for a promised born I are Crisica.

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And he says in another ; lues

Calmis mala Call Tomalia in Tale erediter un'er er s'al. Mireti sumas y lever grac tram H at am grammaticum artis um pintare, Uniers toliere posse questiones Laure & Coperagedir mes. En cor Zenndall, en Jecur Crateti !!

"We lately a w my Gall to Cate" Turnilan tills expended to put in sale by his creditors; and mondere tehal such an worlen. I comber of

<sup>1</sup> Cornelius Helefus Claux was an en gramma le port, of the same age as Catolina. Oski mentiona lim, Triere 31 4% Pringers was worshipped as the presenter of gardens

the schools, most eminent grammarian, and accomplished poet, could solve all propositions and yet found one question too difficult for him to settle,-liow to pav his debts We find in him the genius of Zenodotus,1 the wisdom of Crates "2

XII CORNELIUS EPICADIUS, a freedman of Lucius Cornelius Sylla, the dictator, was his apparitor in the Augural priest-hood, and much beloved by his son Faustus; so that he was proud to call himself the freedman of both He completed the last book of Sylla's Commentaries, which his patron had left unfinished 3

XIII LABERIUS HIERA was bought by his master out of a slave-dealer's cage, and obtained his freedom on account of his devotion to learning. It is reported that his disinterestedness was such, that he gave gratuitous instruction to the children of those who were proscribed in the time of Sylla

XIV CURTIUS NICIA Was the intimate friend of Cneius Pompeius and Caius Memmius, but having carried notes from Memmius to Pompey's wife, when she was debauched by Memmius, Pompey was indignant, and forbad him his He was also on familiar terms with Marcus Cicero, who thus speaks of him in his epistle to Dolabella 6 "I have more need of receiving letters from you, than you have of desiring them from me For there is nothing going on at Rome in which I think you would take any interest, except, perhaps, that you may like to know that I am appointed umpire between our friends Nicias and Vidius The one, it appears, alleges in two short verses that Nicias owes him

Plutarch, in his Life of Cæsar, speaks of the loose conduct of Mucia, Pompey's wife, during her husband's absence

<sup>5</sup> Fam Epist 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zenodotus, the grammarian, was librarian to the first Ptolemy at Alexandria, and tutor to his sons

For Crates, see before, p 507
 We find from Plutarch that Sylla was employed two days before his death, in completing the twenty-second book of his Commentaries, and, foreseeing his fate, entrusted them to the care of Lucullus, who, with the assistance of Epicadius, corrected and arranged them Epicadius also wrote on Heroic verse, and Cognomina

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knight, to whom Cicero addressed his Epistles 1 He became the tutor of his patron's daughter, 2 who was contracted to Marcus Agrippa, but being suspected of an illicit intercourse with her, and sent away on that account, he betook himself to Cornelius Gallus, and lived with him on terms of the greatest intimacy, which, indeed, was imputed to Gallus as one of his heaviest offences, by Augustus Then, after the condemnation and death of Gallus, 3 he opened a school, but had few pupils, and those very young, nor any belonging to the higher orders, excepting the children of those he could not refuse to admit He was the first, it is said, who held disputations in Latin, and who began to lecture on Viigil and the other modern poets, which the verse of Domitius Marcus 4 points out

### Epirota tenellorum nutricula vatum

The Epirot who, With tender care, our unfledged poets nursed.

XVII Verrius Flaccus, a freedman, distinguished himself by a new mode of teaching, for it was his practice to exercise the wits of his scholars, by encouraging emulation among them, not only proposing the subjects on which they were to write, but offering rewards for those who were successful in the contest. These consisted of some ancient, handsome, or rare book. Being, in consequence, selected by Augustus, as preceptor to his grandsons, he transferred his entire school to the Palatium, but with the understanding that he should admit no fresh scholars. The hall in Catiline's house,

The name of the well known Roman knight, to whom Cicero addressed his Epistles, was Titus Pomponius Atticus Although Satrius was the name of a family at Rome, no connection between it and Atticus can be found, so that the text is supposed to be corrupt Quintus Cecilius was an uncle of Atticus, and adopted him. The freedman mentioned in this chapter probably assumed his name, he having been the property of Cæcilius, as it was the custom for freedmen to adopt the names of their patrons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Suctonius, Tiberius, c viii Her name was Pomponia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Augustus, c. lxvi

<sup>4</sup> He is mentioned before, c ix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Verrius Flaccus is mentioned by St Jerome, in conjunction with Athenodorus of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher, to have flourished AMC. 2024, which is AUC 759, AD 9 He is also praised by Gellius, Macrobius, Phny, and Priscian.

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dria, and that when that city was taken, Cæsar brought him, then a boy, to Rome He elosely and carefully imitated Cornelius Alexander, a Greek grammarian, who, for his antiquarian knowledge, was called by many Polyhistor, and by some History He had the charge of the Palatine library, but that did not prevent him from having many scholars, and he was one of the most intimate friends of the poet Ovid, and of Caius Lienius, the historian, a man of consular rank, who has related that Hyginus died very poor, and was supported by his liberality as long as he lived Julius Modestus, who was a freedman of Hyginus, followed the footsteps of his patron in his studies and learning

XXI Caius Melissus, a native of Spoletum, was fice-born, but having been exposed by his parents in consequence of quarrels between them, he received a good education from his foster-father, by whose care and industry he was brought up and was made a present of to Mecænas, as a grammarian. Finding himself valued and treated as a friend, he preferred to continue in his state of servitude, although he was claimed by his mother, choosing rather his present condition than that which his real origin entitled him to. In consequence, his freedom was speedily given him, and he even became a favourite with Augustus By his appointment he was made curator of the library in 'the portico of Octavia,' and, as he himself informs us, undertook to compose, when he was a sevagenarian, his books of "Wittieisms," which are now called "The Book of Jests" Of these he accomplished one hundred and fifty, to which he afterwards added several more.

<sup>2</sup> No such consul as Caus Liennus appears in the Fasti, and it is supposed to be a mistake for C Atimus, who was the colleague of Cn Domitius Calvinus, A u c 713, and wrote a book on the Civil War

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Cornelius Alexander, who had also the name of Polyhistor, was born at Miletus, and being taken prisoner, and bought by Cornelius, was brought to Rome, and becoming his teacher, had his freedom given him, with the name of his patron. He flourished in the time of Sylla, and composed a great number of works, amongst which were five books on Rome. Suctonius has already told us [Augustus, xxix] that he had the care of the Palatine Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Julius Modestus, in whom the name of the Julian family was still preserved, is mentioned with approbation by Gellius, Martial, Quintilian, and others

<sup>4</sup> Melissus is mentioned by Ovid, De Pontif iv 16-30.

<sup>6</sup> See Augustus, c xxix p 93, and note

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<sup>1</sup> The trades was a white role with a graph border of a discontinuous logs.

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various and uncommon metres—His insolence was such, that he called Marcus Varro "a hog," and bragged that "letters were born and would perish with him," and that "his name was not introduced inadvertently in the Bucolies, as Virgil divined that a Palæmon would some day be the judge of all poets and poems" He also boasted, that having once fallen into the hands of robbers, they spared him on account of the celebrity his name had acquired

He was so luxurious, that he took the bath many times in a day, nor did his means suffice for his extravagance, although his school brought him in forty thousand sesterces yearly, and he received not much less from his private estate, which he managed with great care. He also kept a broker's shop for the sale of old clothes, and it is well known that a vine, he planted himself, yielded three hundred and fifty bottles of wine. But the greatest of all his vices was his unbridled licentiousness in his commerce with women, which he carried to the utmost pitch of foul indecency. They tell a droll story of some one who met him in a crowd, and upon his offering to kiss him, could not escape the salute. "Master," said he, "do you want to mouth every one you meet with in a hurry?"

XXIV Marcus Valerius Probus, of Berytus, after long aspiring to the rank of centurion, being at last tired of waiting, devoted himself to study. He had met with some old authors at a bookseller's shop in the provinces, where the memory of ancient times still lingers, and is not quite forgotten, as it is at Rome. Being anxious carefully to reperuse these, and afterwards to make acquaintance with other works of the same kind, he found himself an object of contempt, and was laughed

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Audiat hee tantum vel qui venit, ecce, Palemon"—Eccl in 50

All the editions have the word vitem, but we might conjecture, from the large produce, that it is a mistake for vineam, a vineyard in which case the word vasa might be rendered, not bottles, but casks. The amphora held about nine gallons. Pliny mentions that Remnius bought a farm near the turning on the Nomentan road, at the tenth mile-stone from Rome.

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;Usque ad infamiam oris"—See Tiberius, p 220, and the notes

<sup>4</sup> Now Beyrout, on the coast of Syra. It was one of the colonies founded by Julius Cosar when he transported 80,000 Roman citizens to foreign parts—Julius, xlii.

siff his because in red of their gaining has force or profit. Still bowerer be perticted in his purpose and only bed him self in conventing tills thating and  $h^{-1}$   $g_{\rm in}$  is testo in any works which be had cell of 1.1 is been being confined to the presence of a pranouncian and northing row. He had, any exhibit no scholars, 1 it some for for the extent to the in a horizont table the perfect to the in a horizont continuation of the extent to the lattice of electricities or two, perhaps at most three or for disciples in the saft mean and while 1 has at ease and the tell firely on endanger typics, be exceptionally read some two to them, but that did not often happen. By published a for shigh threatises on some solute questions, besides with h. For 1 has large collection of observations on the language of the succession. at fable lectures in red of their grang ben fame er judt.

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# LIVES

# OF EMINENT RHETORICIANS.

I Rhetoric, also, as well as Grammar, was not introduced amongst us till a late period, and with still more difficulty, masmuch as we find that, at times, the practice of it was even prohibited. In order to leave no doubt of this, I will subjoin an ancient decree of the senate, as well as an edict of the censors—"In the consulship of Carus Fannius Strabo, and Marcus Valerius Messala" the prætor Marcus Pomponius moved the senate, that an act be passed respecting Philosophers and Rhetoricians. In this matter, they have decreed as follows 'It shall be lawful for M Pomponius, the prætor, to take such measures, and make such provisions, as the good of the Republic, and the duty of his office, require, that no Philosophers or Rhetoricians be suffered at Rome'"

After some interval, the censor Cnæus Domitius Ænobarbus and Lucius Licinius Crassus issued the following edict upon the same subject "It is reported to us that certain persons have instituted a new kind of discipline, that our youth resort to their schools, that they have assumed the title of Latin Rhetoricians, and that young men waste their time there for whole days together. Our ancestors have ordained what instruction it is fitting their children should receive, and what schools they should attend. These novelties, contrary to the customs and instructions of our ancestors, we neither approve, nor do they appear to us good. Wherefore it appears to be our duty that we should notify our judgment both to those who keep such schools, and those who are in the practice of frequenting

them, that they meet our disapprobation"

However, by slow degrees, rhetoric manifested itself to be a

<sup>1</sup> This senatus consultum was made A,u c 592

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actual facts, of recent occurrence It was, therefore, the custom to state them precisely, with details of the names of places We certainly so find them collected and published, and it may be well to give one or two of them literally, by

way of example

"A company of young men from the city, having made an excursion to Ostia in the summer season, and going down to the beach, fell in with some fishermen who were casting their nets in the sea Having bargained with them for the haul, whatever it might turn out to be, for a certain sum, they paid down the money They waited a long time while the nets were being drawn, and when at last they were dragged on shore, there was no fish in them, but some gold sewn up in a basket The buyers claim the haul as theirs, the fishermen assert that it belongs to them"

Again. "Some dealers having to land from a ship at Brundusium a cargo of slaves, among which there was a handsome boy of great value, they, in order to deceive the collectors of the customs, smuggled him ashore in the dress of a free-born youth, with the bullum hung about his neck. The fraud easily escaped detection. They proceed to Rome, the affair becomes the subject of judicial inquiry, it is alleged that the boy was entitled to his freedom, because his master

had voluntarily treated him as free"

Formerly, they called these by a Greek term, συντάξεις, but of late "controversies," but they may be either fictitious cases, or those which come under trial in the courts Of the eminent professors of this science, of whom any memorials are extant, it would not be easy to find many others than those of whom I shall now proceed to give an account

II LUCIUS PLOTIUS GALLUS Of him Marcus Tullius Cicerc thus writes to Marcus Titinnius 2 "I remember well that when we were boys, one Lucius Plotius first began to teach Latin, and as great numbers flocked to his school, so that al. who were most devoted to study were eager to take lessons from him, it was a great trouble to me that I too was not allowed to do so I was prevented, however, by the decided opinion

As to the Bullum, see before, July 18, c lxxxiv This extract given by Suctonius is all we know of any epistic addressed by Cicero to Mareus Titumius

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ancient traditions assert, fell into the fountain of the river Sarnus' when the streams were overflown, and not being afterwards found, was reckoned among the number of the gods

V. Sextus Clodius, a native of Sicily, a professor both of Greek and Latin eloquence, had bad eyes and a facetious It was a saying of his, that he lost a pair of eyes from his intimacy with Mark Antony, the triumvir 2 Of his wife. Fulvia, when there was a swelling in one of her cheeks, he said that "she tempted the point of his style," nor did Antony think any the worse of him for the joke, but quite enjoyed it, and soon afterwards, when Antony was consul,4 he even made him a large grant of land, which Cicero charges him with in his Philippics 5 "You patronize," he said, "a master of the schools for the sake of his buffoonery, and make a rhetorician one of your pot-companions, allowing him to cut his jokes on any one he pleased, a witty man, no doubt, but it was an easy matter to say smart things of such as you and your companions But listen, Conscript Fathers, while I tell you what reward was given to this rhetorician, and let the wounds of the republic be laid bare to view You assigned two thousand acres of the Leontine territory to Sextus Clodius, the rhetorician, and not content with that, exonerated the estate from all taxes Hear this, and learn from the extravagance of the grant, how little wisdom is displayed in your acts 33

## VI CAIUS ALBUTIUS SILUS, of Novara, while, in the execu-

1 A river in the ancient Campania, now called the Sarno, which discharges itself into the bay of Naples

<sup>2</sup> Epidius attributes the injury received by his eyes to the corrupt

habits he contracted in the society of M Antony

3 The direct allusion is to the "style" or probe used by surgeons in opening tumours

Mark Antony was consul with Julius Cæsar, A v c 709 See before, Julius, c lxxix

<sup>5</sup> Philipp xi 17

6 Leontium, now called Lentini, was a town in Sicily, the foundation of which is related by Thucydides, vi p 412 Polybius describes the Leon tine fields as the most fertile part of Sicily Polyb vii 1 And see Cicero, contra Verrem, ili 46, 47

7 Novara, a town of the Ililanese

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the form of a province, and turning to the statue of Marcus Brutus, which stood in the forum, he invoked him as "the founder and vindicator of the liberties of the people" For this he narrowly escaped a prosecution Suffering, at an advanced period of life, from an ulcerated tumour, he returned to Novara, and calling the people together in a public assembly, addressed them in a set speech, of considerable length, explaining the reasons which induced him to put an end to existence. and this he did by abstaining from food

territories united to Rome, and was administered by a prætor under the forms of a dependent province. It was admitted to equal rights by the triumvirs, after the death of Julius Cæsar. Albutius intimated that those rights were now in danger.

END OF THE LIVES OF GRAMMARIANS AND RHETORICIANS

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<sup>(</sup>A) Termina pera plana actività dell'accide temperentia di dicioni di serio dell'accidentali di serio dell'accidentali di serio dell'accidentali di serio di

informs us that they were all of nearly equal age; and Poicius intimates a suspicion of this criminal commerce in the follow-

ing passags -

"While Terence plays the wanton with the great, and recommends himself to them by the meietricious ornaments of his person, while, with greedy ears, he drinks in the divine melody of Africanus's voice, while he thinks of being a constant guest at the table of Furius, and the handsome Lælius, while he thinks that he is fondly loved by them, and often invited to Albanum for his youthful beauty, he finds himself stripped of his property, and reduced to the lowest state of indigence. Then, withdrawing from the world, he betook himself to Gieece, where he met his end, dying at Strymphalos, a town in Arcadia. What availed him the friendship of Scipio, of Lælius, or of Furius, three of the most affluent nobles of that age? They did not even minister to his necessities so much as to provide him a hired house, to which his slave might return with the intelligence of his master's death."

He wrote comedies, the earliest of which, The Andria, having to be performed at the public spectacles given by the eddles, he was commanded to lead it first before Cæcilius? Having been introduced while Cæcilius was at supper, and being meanly dressed, he is reported to have read the beginning of the play seated on a low stool near the great man's couch. But after reciting a few verses, he was invited to take his place at table, and, having supped with his host, went through the rest to his great delight. This play and five others were received by the public with similar applause, although Volcatius, in his enumeration of them, says that "The Hecyra" must not be reckoned among these "

The Eunich was even acted twice the same day, and earned

more money than any comedy, whoever was the writer, had

1 These entertainments were given by the ædiles M Fulvius Nobilior

and M Acilius Glabrio, Auc 587

<sup>2</sup> St Jerom also states that Terence read the "Andria" to Cæcilius who was a comic poet at Rome, but it is clearly an anachronism, as he died two years before this period. It is proposed, therefore, to amend the text by substituting Acilius, the ædile, a correction recommended by all the circumstances, and approved by Pitiscus and Ernesti.

3 The "Hecyra," The Mother-m-law, is one of Terence's plays

The "Eunuch" was not brought out till five years after the Andria,

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begged her not to suffer him to be disturbed, as he had gone to bed late, having been engaged in writing with more than usual success. On her asking him to tell her what he had been writing, he repeated the verses which are found in the Heauton-timoroumenos.

Satis pol proterve me Syri promessa—Heauton IV iv 1. I'faith' the rogue Syrus's impudent pretences—

Santra' is of opinion that if Terence required any assistance in his compositions, he would not have had recourse to Scipio and Læhus, who were then very young men, but rather to Sulpicius Gallus, an accomplished scholar, who had been the first to introduce his plays at the games given by the consuls, or to Q. Fabius Labeo, or Marcus Popilius, both men of consular rank, as well as poets. It was for this reason that, in alluding to the assistance he had received, he did not speak of his coadjutors as very young men, but as persons of whose services the people had full experience in peace, in war, and in the administration of affairs

After he had given his comedies to the world, at a time when he had not passed his thirty-fifth year, in order to avoid suspicion, as he found others publishing their works under his name, or else to make himself acquainted with the modes of life and habits of the Greeks, for the purpose of exhibiting them in his plays, he withdrew from Rome, to which he never returned Volcatius gives this account of his death

Sed ut Afer ser populo dedit comædias, Iter hic in Asiam fecit Navem cum semel Conscendit, visus nunquam est Sic vita vacat

<sup>1</sup> Santra, who wrote biographies of celebrated characters, is mentioned as "a man of learning," by St Jerom, in his preface to the book on the Ecclesiastical Writers

<sup>2</sup> The idea seems to have prevailed that Terence, originally an African slave, could not have attained that purity of style in Latin composition which is found in his plays, without some assistance. The style of Phædrus, however, who was a slave from Thrace, and lived in the reign of Tiberius, is equally pure, although no such suspicion attaches to his work.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero (de Clar Orat c 207) gives Sulpicius Gallus a high character as a finished orator and elegant scholar He was consul when the Andria

was first produced

Labeo and Popilius are also spoken of by Cicero in high terms, Ib cc 21 and 24 Q Fabius Labeo was consul with M Claudius Marcellus AL 5 570 and Popilius with L Postumius Albinus, A U C 580

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to Nævius, Plautus, and Cæcilius, but also to Licinius Cicero pays him this high compliment, in his Limo—

Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terena, Conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum In medio populi sedatis vocibus offers, Quidquid come loquens, ac omnia dulcia dicens

"You, only, Terence, translated into Latin, and clothed in choice language the plays of Menander, and brought them before the public, who, in crowded audiences, hung upon hushed applause—

Grace marked each line, and every period charmed"

So also Carus Cæsar ·

Tu quoque tu in summis, O dimidiate Menander, Poneris et merito, puri sermonis amator, Lemous atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore Cum Græcis, neque in hoc despectus parte jaceres! Unum hoc maceror, et doleo tibi deesse, Terenti

"You, too, who divide your honours with Menander, will take your place among poets of the highest order, and justly too, such is the purity of your style. Would only that to your graceful diction was added more comic force, that your works might equal in merit the Greek masterpieces, and your inferiority in this particular should not expose you to censure. This is my only regret, in this, Terence, I grieve to say you are wanting."

## THE LIFE OF JUVENAL.

D JUNIUS JUVENALIS, who was either the son¹ of a wealthy freedman, or brought up by him, it is not known which, declaimed till the middle of his,² more from the bent of his inclination, than from any desire to prepare himself either for the schools or the forum But having composed a short satire,³ which was clever enough, on Paris,⁴ the actor of pantomimes,

<sup>2</sup> He must have been therefore nearly forty years old at this time, as he haved to be eighty

3 The seventh of Juvenal's Satures

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Juvenal was born at Aquinum, a town of the Volscians, as appears by an ancient MS, and is intimated by himself Sat iii 319

I his Paris does not appear to have been the favourite of Nero, who was put to death by that prince [see Nero, c liv], but another person of

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sort of punishment was selected, as it appeared severe enough for an offence which was venial, and a mere piece of drollery However, he died very soon afterwards, worn down by giref, and weary of his life

#### THE LIFE OF PERSIUS

AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS was born the day before the Nones of December [4th Dec ],1 in the consulship of Fabius Persicus and L Vitellius He died on the eighth of the calends of December [24th Nov],2 in the consulship of Rubrius Marius and Asınıus Gallus Though born at Volterra, ın Etruria, he was a Roman knight, allied both by blood and marriage to persons of the highest rank 3 He ended his days at an estate he had at the eighth milestone on the Appian Way. His father, Flaccus, who died when he was barely six years old, left him under the care of guardians, and his mother, Fulvia Silenna, who afterwards married Fusius, a Roman knight, buried him also in a very few years Persius Flaccus pursued his studies at Volterra till he was twelve years old, and then continued them at Rome, under Remmius Palæmon, the grammarian, and Verginius Flaccus, the rhetorician Arriving at the age of twenty-one, he formed a friendship with Annœus Cornutus,4 which lasted through life, and from him he learned the rudiments of philosophy Among his earliest friends were Cæsius Bassus, and Calpurnius Statura, the latter of whom died while Persius himself was yet in his youth Servilius

<sup>1</sup> AUC 786 A.D. 34 2 AUC 814 AD 62

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Persius was one of the few men of rank and affluence among the Romans, who acquired distinction as writers, the greater part of them having been freedmen, as appears not only from these lives of the poets, but from our authors notices of the grammarians and rhetoricians A Caius Persius is mentioned with distinction by Livy in the second Punic war, Hist xxvi 39, and another of the same name by Cicero, de Orat ii 6, and by Pliny, but whether the poet was descended from either of them, we have no means of ascertaining

<sup>4</sup> Persus addressed his fifth satire to Annæus Cornutus He was a native of Leptis, in Africa, and lived at Rome in the time of Nero, by whom he was banished

<sup>5</sup> Cæsius Bassus, a lyric poet, flourished during the reigns of Nero and Salha. Persius dedicated his sixth Satire to him

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it was finished, and on Cæsius Bassus requesting to be allowed to publish it, he delivered it to him for that purpose. In his younger days, Persius had written a play, as well as an Itinerary, with several copies of verses on Thraseas' father-in-law, and Arma's' mother, who had made away with herself before her husband. But Cornutus used his whole influence with the mother of Persius to prevail upon her to destroy these compositions. As soon as his book of Satnes was published, all the world began to admire it, and were eager to buy it up. He died of a disease in the stomach, in the thirtieth year of his age? But no sooner had he left school and his masters, than he set to work with great vehemence to compose satires, from having read the tenth book of Lucilius, and made the beginning of that book his model, presently launching his invectives all around with so little scruple, that he did not spare cotemporary poets and orators, and even lashed Nero himself, who was then the reigning prince. The verse ran as follows.

Auriculas asini Mida rex habet, King Midas has an ass's ears,

but Cornutus altered it thus,

Auriculas asini quis non habet?
Who has not an ass's ears?

in order that it might not be supposed that it was meant to apply to Nero

### THE LIFE OF HORACE

Horatius Flaccus was a native of Venusium,3 his father having been, by his own account,4 a freedman and collector of taxes, but, as it is generally believed, a dealer in salted

Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Appulus anceps,
Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus
Hor Sat xi , 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There were two Arrias, mother and daughter, Tacit Annal. vvi 34, 3 <sup>2</sup> Persius died about nine days before he completed his twenty-ninth year

Wenusium stood on the confines of the Apulian, Lucanian, and Samnite territories

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4.6 Id at 1.1. Then is a fixed set part of constructions for the present to seem 1.2. In our seems to the present for the material that if it is followed by the part of the compared in the present of the first part of its interpretable for it.

from our friend Septimius, for I happened to mention you when he was present. And if you are so proud as to scorn my friendship, that is no reason why I should lightly esteem yours, in return." Besides this, among other drolleries, he often called him, "his most immaculate penis," and "his charming little man," and loaded him from time to time with proofs of his munificence. He admired his works so much, and was so convinced of their enduring fame, that he directed him to compose the Secular Poem, as well as that on the victory of his stepsons Tiberius and Drusus over the Vindelici, and for this purpose urged him to add, after a long interval, a fourth book of Odes to the former three. After reading his "Sermones," in which he found no mention of himself, he complained in these terms. "You must know that I am very angry with you, because in most of your works of this description you do not choose to address yourself to me. Are you afraid that, in times to come, your reputation will suffer, in case it should appear that you lived on terms of intimate friendship with me?" And he wrung from him the eulogy which begins with,

Cum tot sustineas, et tanta negotia solus.

Res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
Legibus emendes in publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Cæsar — Epist ii i
While you alone sustain the important weight
Of Rome's affairs, so various and so great,
While you the public weal with arms defend,
Adorn with morals, and with laws amend,
Shall not the tedious letter prove a crime,
That steals one moment of our Cæsar's time — Francis

In person, Horace was short and fat, as he is described by himself in his Satires,<sup>3</sup> and by Augustus in the following letter "Dionysius has brought me your small volume, which, little as it is, not to blame you for that, I shall judge favourably You seem to me, however, to be afraid lest your volumes should be bigger than yourself But if you are short in stature, you are corpulent enough You may, there-

Me pinguem et nitidum bene curatâ cute vises

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Probably the Septimius to whom Horace addressed the ode beginning Septimi, Gades addressed the ode beginning

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Augustus, c. xxi, and Horace, Ode iv 4

<sup>3</sup> See Epist 1 1V XV

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#### THE LIFE OF LUCAN

M Annœus Lucanus, a native of Corduba, first tried tho powers of his genius in an encomium on Neio, at the Quinquennial games He afterwards recited his poem on the Civil War carried on between Pompey and Cosar IIIs vanity was so immense, and he gave such liberty to his tongue, that in some preface, comparing his age and his first efforts with those of Viigil, he had the assurance to say "And what now remains for me is to deal with a guat" In his early youth, after being long informed of the sort of life his father led in the country, in consequence of an unhappy marriage,2 he was recalled from Athens by Nero, who admitted him into the eirele of his friends, and even gave him the honour of the quæstorship, but he did not long remain in favour Smarting at this, and having publicly stated that Nero had withdrawn, all of a sudden, without communicating with the senate, and without any other motive than his own recreation, after this he did not cease to assail the emperor both with foul words and with acts which are still notorious So that on one occasion, when easing his bowels in the common privy, there being a louder explosion than usual, he gave vent to the nemistych of Nero "One would suppose it was thundering under ground," in the hearing of those who were sitting there for the same purpose, and who took to their heels in much consternation 3 In a poem also, which was in every one's hands, he severely lashed both the emperor and his most powerful adherents

At length, he became nearly the most active leader in Piso's conspiracy, and while he dwelt without reserve in many quarters on the glory of those who dipped their hands in the

roof of his patron Meccenas, whose villa and gardens stood on the Esquiline hill, which had formerly been the burnal ground of the lower classes, but, as he tells us,

Nunc licet Esquilis liabitare salubribus, atque Aggere in aprico spatiare —Sat 1 8

1 Cordova Lucan was the son of Annæus Mella, Seneca's brother

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is very obscure, and Ernesti considers the text to be imperfect

is They had good reason to know that, reliculous as the tyrant made himself, it was not safe to incur even the suspicion of being parties to a jest upon him

6 See Nero, c XXXVI

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the wars with strict attention to his duties, in the rank of a knight, distinguished himself, also, by the great integrity with which he administered the high functions of procurator for a long period in the several provinces intrusted to his charge But still he devoted so much attention to literary pursuits, that it would not have been an easy matter for a person who enjoyed entire leisure to have written more than he did. He comprised, in twenty volumes, an account of all the various wars carried on in successive periods with the German tribes Besides this, he wrote a Natural History, which extended to seven books He fell a victim to the calamitous event which occurred in Campania For, having the command of the fleet at Misenum, when Vesuvius was throwing up a fiery eruption, he put to sea with his gallies for the purpose of exploring the causes of the phenomenon close on the spot 1 But being prevented by contrary winds from sailing back, he was suffocated in the dense cloud of dust and ashes Some, however, think that he was killed by his slave, having implored him to put an end to his sufferings, when he was reduced to the last extremity by the fervent heat?

Pliny) was born at Como, Aug 814, Ad 62. His father's name was Lucius Caccilius, also of Como, who married Plinia, the sister of Caius Plinius Secundus, supposed to have been a native of Verona, the author of the Natural History, and by this marriage the uncle of Pliny the younger. It was the nephew who enjoyed the confidence of the emperors Nerva and Trajan, and was the author of the celebrated Letters.

The first eruption of Mount Vesuvius occurred A.u. c. 831, A.p. 79. See Titus, c. viu. The younger Pliny was with his uncle at Misenum at the time, and has left an account of his disastrous enterprise in one of his

etters, Epist vi. xvi

<sup>2</sup> For further accounts of the elder Pliny, see the Epistles of his nephew, B iii 5, vi 16 20, and Dr Thomson's remarks before, pp 475—478.

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